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VIEW OF PEEL CASTLE ISLE OF MAN

HISTORY

OF

THE ISLE OF MAN,

WITH

A COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF THE

PAST AND PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS;

CONTAINING ALSO

Biographical Anecdotes

OF

EMINENT PERSONS

CONNECTED WITH THAT ISLAND.

BY H. A. BULLOCK.

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Introduction.

TO MRS. ——.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT is now a long while since, in obedience to your suggestions, I have entertained the idea of arranging an Account of the Isle of Man, for your sole amusement and information. My original design was to give you simply a sketch of living manners; and to this purpose I had composed a series of Essays or Letters, which I believed would answer the end I

had in view; when an event took place*, which gave such a check to the prosperity of the island, that I, who have lived long enough in it to identify myself with its welfare, began to inquire whether it was not possible, even with my limited powers, to return some of the numberless kindnesses I have experienced from its native inhabitants.

Scarcely had this latent hope shed its glow over my imagination, ere I painted another fairy vision; and having, like Alnaschar, first dreamed myself into a sovereignty, I next set about choosing my subjects, all of whom I meant, with exclusive scrupulosity, to pick out, from a revered and long-lamented class, now nearly extirpated in my native land; but

* The passing of an act by the insular legislature, depriving debtors of the protection they had hitherto found here, from the prosecution of foreign claims.

being that in which I spent the purest and best years of my life, is naturally associated with all my ideas of happiness. I allude to the class who used to hold the *middle rank*: it seemed to me, as the vision floated by, that to preserve the remnant of this oppressed race from annihilation, no retreat could be better imagined than this, on which I am now writing. The land and the people appear so exactly suited to each other, that I believe I have only to perform the ceremony of introduction—only to make the one known to the other—and like kindred minds, they will contract an intimacy which will end in a communion of benefits.

Is it not true, my dear Madam, that by growing inordinately rich, by revelling in luxuries, until they have become mere necessaries, and above all, by changing the very character and principles of life and manners, the scene is closed on those

valuable and quiet comforts which used to spring from circumscribed expences, and well regulated desires? What has become of the associates of my early days, who, on moderate incomes of a few hundreds per annum, used to preserve a certain superiority of character and manners, over the mere money-getting and money-loving crowd?—where are now the anniversary days of rejoicing?—the Christmas gambols, in which all ages forgot their petty cares, and after a delightful bustle of preparation, met together to be merry with their whole hearts. When a birth or a wedding day brought a renewal of original joy, of which even the anticipation made no inconsiderable part, feasts and fine clothes were not then undervalued by perpetual recurrence, nor the hope and the happiness of such assemblies, lost in vapid sameness.

Am I mistaken when I say, that all

these things are no more; that such narrow means as would once suffice, for all the purposes of domestic ease, are no longer adequate to the bare supply of necessaries: and the peace of independence can only be preserved by the observance of a system of watchfulness and penurious economy, equally painful to endure and to practise, accompanied as these circumstances too frequently are, by the aggravated fears of paternal anxiety, for the rising generation.

How difficult is it for those, whom education has fitted to enjoy, and diffuse the elegancies of life, to relinquish even its comforts, and sink at once into the class beneath them. The desire of keeping good company, is another mistake which the young (particularly those who live in what is called the world) have to combat. Perhaps I am wrong to use the word combat; I should rather say, to regulate, and in order to this, it is necessary to define the

term: I believe, generally speaking, it refers to that link in the chain, immediately *above* our own, to those who live more expensively, keep more company, and make more show, than we can afford to do, without the slightest reference to mental qualifications or acquirements. Now this I contend is the fundamental error: I will have *my good company* to consist of those whom education, early associations, and present habits of thinking and acting, have fitted either to coincide with my own, or to correct and guide me to clearer views and better purposes; who can participate in my pleasures, however simple or frugal, and sympathize from their own feelings, in my cares, and my sorrows.

Having, to my own perfect conviction at least, established the fact, that luxury is the prevailing pest of the day, and that it is absolutely necessary to find a retreat

where congenial spirits may associate, at a distance from the vortex of dissipation; I come naturally back to the point whence I sat out, and declare that I believe the Isle of Man to be the very spot where this *Utopian* scheme may be realized.

The chief obstacle to my project lies in the general neglect or contempt with which this place has been hitherto regarded; those who have thought of it at all, view it as a mere shelter for debtors, and as debts imply a degree of poverty, which is a high crime and misdemeanor, to which no man likes to plead guilty, it has hitherto included a species of disgrace, even to contemplate a retreat on the sea-beat shores of Mona: this objection, however, is now at an end, protection being no longer afforded to the fugitive, the field is left open for another, and, let us hope, a better class, to occupy.

Perhaps, when I have stated the ad-

vantages this Island really offers, you will agree with me, that it is one of the few places in Europe where moderate people, may be moderately happy at a moderate expence; nor is it a small recommendation to a new colony, that they may find a place ready prepared where they can enter, as the children of Israel did on the land of Canaan, into houses which they have not built, and gardens they have not planted; in truth, the want of population since the non-protection act (as it is called) has been most severely felt, and it is a great pity it should be so, for, in the few years immediately preceding this sudden stagnation, the progress of improvement had been rapid beyond comparison; every thing was in a course of amelioration; even the asperities of party, which had formerly been so fertile of feuds, (that it was dangerous to hazard a remark, lest one should start a prejudice), were begin-

ning to subside into perfect unanimity. Agriculture and trade had also combined to diffuse prosperity over a happy community, when this sudden cloud overshadowed the whole horizon.

In perusing the few accounts extant of the Island, I find none that are wholly satisfactory; some say too little of the present day, and others appear not to have thought the early history of the Manx worth tracing out, or their primitive character and situation deserving of inquiry; at all events, the changes of the last few years are important enough to demand a new record.

It would ill become me to provoke a comparison with other authors, all the merit I claim is that of having industriously collected into one view what has been scattered in a *desultory* manner through different books, many of them still in manuscript (to which I have had access

through the kindness of friends on the spot), and others of such antiquity as to be only in the hands of a few individuals: from these sources, which I believe to be authentic, I have derived my history of the past, and for my account of the present state of manners, society, and customs. I have trusted to the observations which a residence of ten years on the Island has enabled me to make, and my chief aim has been to give the result of those observations with impartiality and truth.

I am fearful that, to indifferent readers, the history of the early Kings of Man will appear tedious, and must be uninteresting; and the account of the Derby family may also be considered as a repetition of well known facts; yet would the natives of the Island have been as much dissatisfied if these had been omitted, as the English would be, should a future author present them with a History of Great Britain, from

which the names of Alfred, Edward the Black Prince, or Henry the Fifth, were expunged, merely because the events connected with them were too universally known to demand a repetition.

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HISTORY

OF

THE ISLE OF MAN.

CHAP. I.

Early History of the Island, and of its first Kings, to the Accession of the House of Stanley.

THE Isle of Man, though actually forming the centre of the British Empire, and occupying a very conspicuous station in the neighbourhood of many powerful states, was yet so little known to the ancients, or so little noticed by them, that the natives account for its acknowledged obscurity in those early times, by ascribing it to magical arts, whereby, as they say, it was purposely enshrouded in mists, for safety and defence. Latter times have, however, in a great measure cleared away this veil; and opened to its neighbors those scenes which I am about to describe.

The island lies in the Irish sea between 55° and 56° north latitude, and 15° longitude; it is about thirty, miles in length; the breadth not more than ten at the greatest width; and running out to very narrow points at the extreme ends. The circumference, seventy miles; and the contents of the whole, two-hundred and twenty square miles; of which the centre is wholly occupied by a range of heathy mountains, now partially exhibiting spots of cultivated ground.

The bearing and distance of the island from particular points is as follows: from the Calf to the Hill of Howth, S.W. ½ W. fifty-four miles: from Peele to the Copeland lights, N.W. ½ N. thirty-five miles: from the point of Ayre to the Mull of Galloway, N.W. by W. twenty-two miles: from Maughold Head to St. Bees' light-house, E. N. E. ½ N. thirty miles: from Douglas to the N. W. Buoy at Liverpool, S. E. ½ S. sixty miles.

The name of Man is supposed by some to refer to its situation amidst surrounding kingdoms, from the Saxon word "Mang," or "Among;" others believe it to be derived from Maune, the sirname of St. Patrick; but the natives who call it, in their own language, Manning, have a tradition that it was so designated from a prince who is still the hero of their fables, called Mananan. The question, whichever way it is decided, is of little

real interest, except to antiquarians; to whom I shall leave it, without farther comment.

This country has been in early times colonized by different states. According to tradition, the first possessors were the ancient Britons; but when the northern nations made their violent irruptions into Great Britain, the Isle of Man became subject to the Scots, who were expelled by one Cunedan, a Dane; for his ferocious courage sirnamed the Dragon of the Isle. He who is believed by the natives to be the founder and the legislator of their kingdom, is by them called Mananan Mac Lyr: they pretend that he was son to a king of Ulster, and brother to Fergus II. who restored the monarchical government in Scotland 422 *. The old statute book describes him thus:

"Mananan Mac Lyr, the first man who held Man, was ruler thereof, and after whom the land was named, reigned many years; and was a Paynim: he kept the land under mists by his necromancy; if he dreaded an enemy, he would of one man cause to seem one hundred; and that by art magic."

A late writer † speaking of this wonderful personage, has ascertained, as far as such obscure

* King Mananan, Anno 422. † Flahartie.

points can be ascertained, that his real name was Orbsenius, son of Alladius, a prince of Ireland, who was a famous merchant, on whom the title of Mananan was bestowed, in consideration of the traffic he carried on between Man and Ireland; as was also the title of Mac Lyr, or Son of the Sea, from his extraordinary skill in navigation.

It was probably before this prince flourished, as well as cotemporary with him, that the Druids had their establishment in the Island: in all likelihood they had retired hither when driven out of Britain by the Romans; of their actual residence there is undoubted proof; not only in the many vestiges remaining, but also in those peculiar features of their laws and customs, still extant. St. Patrick likewise, who landed in 444,* mentions the reigning king as a necromancer of the name of Mananan, and describes the religion of the state to be Druidism.

In the antiquities of Glastonbury there is a record of an expedition to Man in 516† by the famous King Arthur; in which he effected the conquest of the island; but afterwards restored it to its native prince; whom he also admitted an associate of the *round table;* from which we

* St. Patrick, Anno 444. † Alfred, 516.

must conclude him to have been an adept in the learning and valour of that romantic age, by which alone he could have attained to so high an honor.

By what means the Danes obtained their footing in this island is not clearly ascertained; though the traces of their possession are sufficiently distinct. To this day the sirnames of most of the principal families bespeak a Danish origin, as well as the title of the Tynwald hill: the highest mountain is called Snafield, which is also the name of a mountain in Denmark.

The first prince of this dynasty is called Orry, who having conquered the Orcades at last fixed his residence in Man, where he reigned long and peaceably, and at his death devised the kingdom to his son Guttred *, who built Castle Rushen, 960 †. After him, tradition enumerates four princes in the direct line, viz.

Olave—Olain—Allen—Fingal.

But their existence admits of no certainty, especially as it is recorded that Guttred finished the castle of Rushen in 960, and in 970 ‡ the reigning prince was "Macon," as appears from cotemporary history; so that if these four persons held

* Orry, about Anno 940. † Guttred, 960. ‡ Macon, 970.

the sceptre successively, they must have been crowded into the short space of ten years.

Soon after Macon's accession, he incurred the displeasure of Edgar, King of England, by whom he was deposed for refusing to do homage to him as his liege lord; an act of contumacy which he afterwards repented and retrieved; for although he was one of the eight tributary princes, who in 974 *, rowed the barge of the conqueror on the river Dee, yet was he subsequently restored not only to his principality, but even entrusted with the command of a fleet, with which he successfully kept the sea against the Danes and Norwegians; and, according to Sir Henry Spelman, obtained the honorary title of "Prince of the Sea," with the arms thenceforward appropriated to the island, being a ship in full sail, with the motto, "Manniæ Rex et Insularem." This continued to be the bearing till the conquest by the Scots in 1270, when the three legs were substituted.

How long Macon reigned is not known; but there occurs only the name of one king (Syrack) between him and Goddard, who succeeded A. D. 1055 †, and in whose reign Harold Harfager, a

* Macon, Anno 974. † Goddard, 1055.

King of Norway, made a descent on Britain, accompanied by one Goddard, sirnamed Crovan, the son of Harold the Black, of Iceland: the invaders being worsted in a great battle at Stainford bridge, in England, sought their safety in flight; upon which occasion Goddard found refuge with his name-sake Goddard, King of Man; at whose court he was honourably entertained: to this hospitality he made the usual return of those predatory times; for on the death of the king in the following year, his ungrateful guest reappeared with a great fleet, and after some reverses expelled Fingal * the lawful heir, and established himself in his place, which happened in the year 1066 †, about the same time that William of Normandy ascended the throne of England.

Goddard Crovan reigned in peace till the year 1082 ‡, when he died, leaving three sons, Lagman, Harold, and Olave. Lagman succeeded him, but was harassed by the rebellious conduct of his brother Harold, whom he at length overcame and put to death; an act of severity no sooner committed than repented of; and that with so much sincerity, that regardless of the safety of his kingdom, he determined to expiate his crime by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and ac-

* Fingal, Anno 1065. † Goddard Crovan, 1066. ‡ 1082.

cordingly he took the cross, and set out on his expedition from which he never returned, but died in the Holy Land in 1087. *

Olave, the third son of Goddard, by the death of his brother, became heir to the principality; but being yet a minor, and the country in a very unsettled state he took refuge in the court of Henry the first, King of England; and left the island open to the invasion of the neighbouring powers. Accordingly we find it was at this time seized by one Donald †; but whether in his own right or as viceroy from a King of Scotland, which some writers affirm, is a doubtful point.

His authority, however founded, was of short duration; and he was expelled or removed under the following circumstances:—Magnus, a king of Norway, having committed sacrilege, by opening the grave of St. Olave, was warned by a vision of the offended saint, that he must either perform the voluntary penance of quitting his dominions in Norway within thirty days, or that both kingdom and life would be taken from him at the end of that time.

It appears that Magnus accepted the compromise, and having equipped an hundred and twenty sail of ships, and collected a large body of forces he departed within the limited space: but

* Lagman died, Anno 1087. † Donald, 1089.

his repentance or his fears seem to have produced no further acts of self-denial: on the contrary, he carried rapine and violence wherever he went, and having conquered a great many of the isles of Scotland, he at length established himself in Man, after having driven out his predecessor Donald in 1098.* Another account states, that this island was given to Magnus by Donald for his assistance in restoring him to the crown of Scotland, on which he had a claim: but whether Magnus acquired his power by conquest or cession, the sovereignty of the isles was thenceforward for many years annexed to that of Man; and he seems in other respects to have carried his power and insolence to a great length.

First he made a descent on Anglesea, of which he soon completed the conquest; and on his return he sent his shoes to Murchard, a king of Ireland, commanding him to bear them on his shoulders through his hall on Christmas-day, an indignity the Irish were much disposed to resent; but Murchard probably doubting his ability to make successful resistance, declared that he would not only "carry, but eat his shoes, rather than Magnus should be provoked to make an attack upon Ireland;" and not content with fulfilling the

* Magnus, Anno 1098.

imperious orders he had received, he even dismissed the ambassadors laden with presents.

This servility, as might be expected, served but to invite fresh aggression; and the report of his messengers as to the fertility of the country, exciting the cupidity of this warlike prince, he actually set sail with sixteen ships, ordering the rest of his fleet to follow, with intention to make a descent on the coast of Ireland; but as he unwarily landed with a few followers to reconnoitre, he was surrounded by the Irish, and slain with his whole company, in the year 1102. *

On his death the Manx eagerly recalled their lawful prince, Olave; † who had been a refugee for the long space of sixteen years from his native country, and now returned to them in the prime of life, and possessed of all those accomplishments to be derived from so long a residence at one of the most polished courts in Europe. Immediately on his accession he set himself to improve the character and manners of his subjects: he founded the abbey of Rushen in 1104, ‡ and greatly endowed the church, giving one third of the tythes of the whole island to maintain the bishop, one third to the abbey for the education of youth, and the remainder for the support of the parochial

* Magnus killed, Anno 1102. † Olave, 1103. ‡ Olave founded Rushen Abbey, 1104.

clergy. He also reformed the laws, and made many excellent ordinances.

In these laudable occupations he passed forty years; at the end of which time he resolved to visit the king of Norway, and leave his son in that country to complete his education; but this was an unfortunate excursion for him, and for the nation he had so wisely governed; for on his return, he found the three sons of his brother Harold (who had hitherto dwelt peaceably in Dublin) had landed, and taking advantage of his absence, had raised a great body of forces, and now made a demand of one moiety of the kingdom of the Isles.

The right of these princes, as sons of the elder brother, seems to be undeniable; and accordingly Olave, (perhaps induced by the natural rectitude of his disposition,) appears to have intended rather to enter into a compromise, than to repel their invasion by force: to this end he appointed a meeting at Ramsay for an amicable adjustment, in presence of the principal persons on both sides; but the sons of Harold (who are described as of cruel and ferocious dispositions, determined to end all negociation by an act of of violence; Reginald the elder, taking advantage of the unguarded state of Olave, under pretence of approaching to salute him, raised his

battle axe, and at one blow struck off the head of his opponent; this act of cruelty and treachery was perpetrated in the year 1142*.

The followers of Olave being thrown into consternation, were soon either dispersed or slain; and the sons of Harold proceeded to divide the land amongst themselves, and their companions: but the various acts of cruelty of which they were guilty, were ill calculated to reconcile the natives to this change; and accordingly, when Goddard, the son of their beloved king Olave, returned from Norway in 1143†, he found the Manx prepared to receive him with open arms; and by their assistance he soon overcame his rivals, who all three fell into his hands: according to the usage of the times he condemned the two younger to lose their eyes, but the elder, who had murdered his father, was put to death.

Goddard is described as a youth of extraordinary endowments; brave, active, generous; polished by a foreign education; and his own attractive qualifications, reinforced by the memory of his father's wisdom and virtue, so that he became almost an object of adoration to his own subjects; and it is even related that his

* Olave killed, Anno 1142. † Goddard, 1143.

fame had extended to the neighbouring countries, particularly to Ireland, which people, envying the Manx the possession of a prince of such shining abilities, determined to share in the blessings of his administration; and in consequence the nobility of Leinster, actually elected him to be their king in 1147*: but Murchard, king of Ireland, not acquiescing in this dismemberment of his dominions, sent his brother Oselby with three thousand horse, to surprise the city of Dublin, in which attempt he was defeated and slain by Goddard, who thereby settled himself in his newly-acquired possessions.

This prosperity appears to have had an injurious effect on the character of Goddard, and perhaps to have excited the jealousy of his natural subjects; for on his return to Man, great discontents had sprung up amongst the people, originating in some acts of violence of which he had been guilty, in particular, the dispossessing several persons of their land; amongst whom was one Thorfinus, the son of Otter, a man of great power, violent in his temper, and implacable in his enmity: this demagogue, covering his own desire of revenge, with a veil of patriotism, fomented the general irritation, and

* Goddard king of Leinster, 1147.

even sought aid from Summerled, a prince of Argyle, who had some distant claim, by marriage, to the sovereignty of the isles; and was therefore easily persuaded to send his son Dulgal to make an invasion on Man.

Goddard, though hasty and impetuous, was not likely to yield his station without resistance; but having equipped eighty ships, a dreadful battle was fought at sea, A.D. 1156*, when both sides being weary with slaughter, and the victory still doubtful, a compromise was at length entered into, by which Goddard ceded the northern division of the Isles to Dulgal: but this truce was of short duration: in 1158† Dulgal made another attempt on Man, and the natives rising against their king, Goddard was driven out, and escaped with difficulty to Norway, where he remained in exile six years, whilst his rival Dulgal established himself in his vacant dominions, and flushed with this victory, conceived the project of subduing all Scotland to his power; for which purpose, in the year 1164‡, he sailed with a great force from Ramsay, but was slain in the first onset at a place called Rheinfrien.

* Sea-fight between Goddard and Dulgal, 1156.

† Goddard expelled by Dulgal, 1158.

‡ Dulgal killed, and Goddard recalled, 1164.

Six years of absence had sufficed to obliterate the errors of their exiled king from the remembrance of the Manx, who on the death of Dulgal, evinced a disposition to return to his authority, and invited him to resume his power; but before he could avail himself of this change of fortune, his natural brother, Reginald, at the instigation of Thorfinus, who dreaded the return of Goddard, had gathered an armed multitude from the different Isles, and made an attempt to secure the sovereignty to himself: the people, though anxious to preserve their allegiance to Goddard, were defeated in a battle fought on this occasion, probably for want of a leader; because Goddard himself, landing four days after the contest, with a small body of forces granted to him by his friend and patron the king of Norway, found no difficulty in subduing Reginald, whom he committed to prison, with the greater part of his adherents. Thorfinus only escaped by sea, but suffered shipwreck in his flight.

Goddard, corrected by adversity, devoted the rest of his days to the service and benefit of his people; and having entirely recovered his popularity, died in the year 1177 †, leaving three sons,

* Goddard dies, and his power is usurped by Reginald, 1177.

Reginald, Olave, and Ivar; of whom Olave, a minor, was appointed his successor, on account of the illegitimacy of Reginald the eldest. But this prince was far from submitting to such a disposition, and being possessed of those shewy characteristics which often render persons popular, without any solid virtue to justify, or reward the partiality of the people, he had no difficulty in defeating his brother's right, and usurping his power.

But his whole reign was disturbed by the consequences of this injustice. Olave had no sooner attained the age of manhood, than he entered into contention with the usurper; the Manx had by this time discovered that the rays which dazzle do not always warm or nourish; and, instigated equally by Olave's just claims, and a love of change, they were ripe for revolt; when Reginald proposed a compromise, and ceded to Olave a certain share of the out isles, called the Lewis, for his support. The prince, though at first satisfied with this division, soon found it wholly inadequate to his necessities; and in consequence, returning to Man, he presented himself before his brother, declaring that as it had pleased God to place him on the throne, he no way envied his advancement, but only entreated him to give him such a portion of land as would main-

tain him, in that comfort and plenty, which he could by no means find in the Lewis Isles.

Reginald, who probably had designed something else than to make his brother independent, porized for the moment; but on the following day caused him to be seized, and conveyed into Scotland, where he was kept a close prisoner by Reginald's friend and ally, William, king of that country, for a space of six years; when William dying, Olave was released by his son Alexander, and again returned to his native country: from this time Reginald seems to have maintained a feverish and uneasy existence; in constant fear of his rival, alternately contending and compounding with him, or endeavouring to bolster up his falling power by foreign alliances; amongst whom, his chief friend and patron appears to have been John, king of England, who granted him a knight's fee in Ireland, in 1212*. There was indeed a remarkable similarity in the fortune and characters of these two princes; they were both usurpers; both had alienated their people by tyranny and misconduct, and as if Reginald had been determined to carry the parallel to its utmost extent, he actually imitated

* Reginald obtains a knight's fee from John of England, 1212.

his superior in the resignation of his sovereignty to the See of Rome, which took place in the year 1219*.

But these efforts being unavailing to secure him a peaceable possession, the people were still exposed to all the miseries of civil war; indeed, it is impossible to read the accounts of the long contest maintained, and the various battles fought, both by sea and land, without astonishment, that so small a population should have been able to support such continual devastation without being entirely annihilated.

After a turbulent reign of almost forty years, Reginald at last met his fate in a battle near the Tynwald hill, where he was slain: and the country exhausted and almost depopulated, at length submitted entirely to its lawful king Olave, who succeeded in the year 1226†. He made two voyages after this time; the one to appease the king of Norway, who had conceived some displeasure at an omission of homage due to him from Olave; and the other to his patron, Henry the Third of England, who, A. D. 1236‡,

* Resigns to the See of Rome, Anno 1219.

† Reginald killed, and Olave succeeds, Anno 1226.

‡ Olave visits England, Anno 1236.

granted a safe conduct to the King of Man, to come into England; and the same year bestowed on him forty marks, one-hundred quarters of corn, and five tun of wine, with a commission for the defence of the sea-coast to be continued annually so long as he should faithfully perform that service.

Olave died in 1237 *, at Peel castle, (which is the first mention made of that fortress.) Harold, the son of Olave, was then only fourteen years of age, but a youth of considerable promise, and great popularity. Soon after his accession he made a progress through his dominions, consisting of nearly three hundred islands, leaving Laglan, his cousin, as vice-roy in Man; who, it is probable, did not fulfil his trust with fidelity or prudence, as the people being assembled at a Tynwald court †, instead of council fell to arms; and in the fray, several persons of consequence were slain, particularly one Joseph, a friend and confidant of the young king; at which Harold was so much incensed, that he returned hastily, and with an avowed determination to punish the offenders: Laglan, apprehending the consequences, fled with Goddard, the youngest son of Olave, intending to

* Olave dies, and is succeeded by his son Harold, 1237.

† Great disturbance at the Tynwald, 1238.

take refuge in Wales, but was shipwrecked, with the young prince, and his retinue.

A new disturbance was excited in the year 1249 *, by the King of Norway, who sent commissioners to seize the revenue of the island, under a plea that Harold had neglected to pay personal homage at his court. The King of Man, being determined to fulfil this duty without further delay, took a voyage to Norway, where he remained two years, during which time he established himself in the friendship of his liege lord, and also secured the affections of his eldest daughter, a princess of great beauty and accomplishments.

Having obtained the full confirmation of his rights in Man and the islands, he returned to his dominions; and such was the prosperous condition of his affairs, that his alliance was sought by the kings of Scotland and Ireland; and being invited to go into England in the year 1247 †, he was received there with unusual distinction by Henry III., who bestowed on him the order of knighthood with his own hand; an honour in those days reserved for high birth and eminent talents alone; after which, loaded with presents,

* Revenue seized by the King of Norway, Anno 1249.

† Harold visits England, about the year 1247.

Harold returned to his native land. Encouraged by the flourishing state of his affairs, he immediately afterwards made proposals to the King of Norway for his daughter; which being accepted, he set sail, attended by the bishop of Man and a numerous train of nobles and ladies, to fetch his bride home with the honour due to her station.

The marriage was celebrated at the court of Norway with great festivity; and shortly afterwards Harold, impatient to present his beautiful bride to his expecting subjects, set sail on his return; but was unhappilly driven on the coast of Ragland, in Wales, where he perished, with his young queen, and nearly all the nobility of Man and the isles, in 1248. *

This lamentable catastrophe opened the way for the succession of Reginald, † the second son of Olave, who enjoyed his unexpected acquisition a very short time, being slain in the first month of his reign by a knight named Ivar; but what was the cause of quarrel is not stated: he left an infant daughter named Mary; but the Manx unaccustomed to a female sovereign, wholly disregarded her claims, and seem to have turned their attention to Magnus, the youngest and only re-

* Harold drowned, Anno 1248. † Succeeded by Reginald, who is slain in single combat by Ivar, Anno 1248.

maining son of Olave; who, nevertheless, did not obtain the royal power without some contests; nor could he procure a confirmation of his title from the King of Norway, till after two years attendance at his court. *

That monarch was indeed himself in a state of some hazard. The frequent irruptions made by his predecessors into other countries, had greatly weakened the original source. Norway had for five centuries spread its arms over Europe: it had given kings to England and Sicily; dukes to Normandy; and held the sovereignty of the isles for two-hundred years; but was, at this crisis, in great danger of becoming a prey to the rising power of Denmark.

At length Magnus having secured the recognition of his authority, returned to his little state; but sensible to the falling power of his ancient ally, he adopted the policy of providing a friend whose strength and influence might be his future support; and with this view, he turned his eyes to England, whither he made a voyage in 1256,† and met with as favourable a reception as his brother Harold had done in a former visit.

The year after his return, Magnus consecrated

* Harold succeeded by Magnus, Anno 1249. † Magnus knighted in England by Henry III., Anno 1256.

the abbey of Rushen, of which the foundation had been laid one-hundred and thirty years; and in 1265 * he died without issue, being the last king of the race of Goddard Crovan.

At the death of Magnus; Alexander, † King of Scotland, an enterprising and warlike prince, began to seize such of the out isles as lay most convenient for him; and though the King of Norway, finding himself unable to defend these distant parts of his dominions, offered to compound by resigning one half of the isles on condition of being left in unmolested possession of the residue, yet Alexander treated the proposal with contempt, and avowed his intention to win, or lose the whole.

The Manx, with that courage a long course of warfare naturally creates, for some time resisted the Scottish invasion; and putting themselves under the command of Ivar, who had married the widow of Magnus, and aspired to the sovereign power, many battles were fought, with various success, till the year 1270 ‡, when Alexander sent a numerous army, under the command of two distinguished leaders, Alexander of

* Magnus consecrates Rushen Abbey and dies, Anno 1265. † Alexander of Scotland, attacks Man and the isles, Anno 1266. ‡ Scots finally successful, Anno 1270.

Paisley, and John Comyn,* and a decisive engagement taking place at Rannesway, after a long and arduous contest, Ivar was slain, with five-hundred and thirty-seven of the flower of the people; and the kingdom of Man and the isles totally reduced: in token of which, the King of Scotland erased the ancient bearing of the Manx, and substituted the three legs, which arms they have borne ever since.

A short time previous to this fatal event, the young princess Mary, had, by the care of her guardians, been removed (with all her deeds and charters) from the impending danger, and conducted into England, where she continued to reside many years; whilst the Scots maintained their power by such acts of cruelty and oppression, as almost entirely sunk the spirits and courage of the natives; who from the generous fierceness of character for which they had formerly been celebrated, were now degenerated into a sullen negligence; till at last rendered desperate by outrage, the whole mass rose against their oppressors, determined either to drive them out, or fall to a man in the effort.

By the interposition of the bishop †, this

* John Comyn, afterwards a candidate for the crown of Scotland.

† No other name is given this diocesan but Richard; he

violent ebullition was diverted; and the opponents were persuaded to put the dispute upon the issue of a combat between thirty men on each side.

Unfortunately, however, the Manxmen lost the day, the whole of their thirty champions fell on the field of battle, whilst the Scots lost only twenty-five. This last struggle proved to the king of Scotland the necessity of altering the system by which he had attempted to govern; and in consequence he sent over one Maurice Okerfair*, a wise and prudent magistrate, who set himself so effectually to compose differences, and correct abuses, that he succeeded in a great measure in allaying the animosities of the two parties, as is clearly proved by the remarkable circumstance of his having caused thirty cross marriages to be celebrated in one day. He held the government only three years, when he died, equally regretted by both sides, A. D. 1282†.

Two Scottish governors are noticed after king

is said to have been an Englishman, and was promoted to the See by Magnus.

* Maurice Okerfair, a Scottish governor, Anno 1278.

† Died, Anno 1282.

Brennus, who was slain in 1287 *, and Donald, a person of high rank; but how long he held the government is uncertain, for in the year 1289 †, Edward, king of England, bestowed the Isle of Man on Walter de Huntercombe, it having been surrendered to him by the Scottish commissioners. In the following year Edward restored it to John Baliol; yet it does not appear that he ever took possession of it; the Scottish nation being at this time distracted by intestine broils between Bruce and Baliol: of which, at last, king Edward being appointed umpire, he made an excursion to Perth, A.D. 1292 ‡, as it was then called John's town, where Mary, the daughter of Reginald, late king of Man, presented herself, with her charters, and offered to do homage to the king of England for the crown which she claimed; but was answered, that she must prosecute her rights before the king of Scotland who then held it: after which the affair seems to have rested, but was revived in the

* Brennus, another governor, Anno 1287.

† Sir Walter de Huntercombe obtains the Isle from Edward, king of England, Anno 1289.

‡ Mary, daughter of Reginald, prefers her claims before Edward I. Anno 1292.

thirty-third of the same reign, when John de Waldebeouf presented a petition to parliament stating the rights of the said Mary, then his wife: but she dying whilst the question remained undecided, her right descended to her son William, who, in his turn, claimed the Isle of Man and the adjacent Isles, as true and lawful heir. At the death of Edward I. 1307, his successor Edward II. entirely overlooking these claims, seized the Island to his own use, and in one year made no less than three several grants to so many of his favourites; Piers de Gaveston, Gilbert de Mc.Gascall, and lastly, to Henricus de Bello Minto, in 1308-9*.

My Lord Coke also tells of one Simon de Montacute, in 1313†, who had intruded himself into the principality in the 6th of Edward II. for which he was attached to answer at the suit of the king.

The affairs of this little state seem to have been left in great confusion till the accession of Edward III. when a grand-daughter and sole descendant of Mary, the daughter of Reginald, once more revived her claims, and demanded

* Three grants of the Island, made by Edward II. in the years 1308 and 1309.

† Simon de Montacute seized the Island, Anno 1313.

the protection of the king of England, who having satisfied himself of her hereditary rights, bestowed her in marriage upon a valiant knight, Sir William de Montacute, and withal granted them such effectual aid both in ships and men, that Sir William in a short time drove out the Scots, and to the infinite joy of the Manx restored the sovereignty in the right line, A. D. 1344*.

But this satisfaction was very short-lived; Sir William, in the prosecution of his Lady's claims, notwithstanding the assistance of his sovereign, had contracted so large a debt, that his only means of discharging it was by mortgaging his newly acquired possessions, for seven years, to Antony Beck, Bishop of Durham, who, taking advantage of the footing he had obtained, in the next reign obtained from Richard II. a grant for his life, A. D. 1377†, but at his decease it reverted once more to the natural heir William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, by whom it was sold in the year 1395‡, to Sir William Scroop, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire, who lost

* Island restored in the right line, Anno 1344.

† Granted to the Bishop of Durham for life, Anno 1377.

‡ Sold to Sir William Scroop, Anno 1395.

his life in the beginning of the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster.

The next temporary possessor was Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, first the ally, and afterwards the enemy of Henry IV. in consequence of whose rebellion the Island was seized to the king's use, by Sirs William and John Stanley, to the last of whom the king made a grant for one year, A. D. 1406, which was afterwards revoked, and a new grant passed the great seal, A.D. 1407 *, bestowing the island, castle peel, and lordship of Man, and all the islands pertaining thereto, with all royalties, regallities, and franchises, on him and his heirs, in as full, and ample a manner, as had been granted to any former lord or king, to be held of the crown of Great Britain, per homagium legium, paying to the king a cast of falcons at his coronation.

* Given to Sir John Stanley, by Henry IV. Anno 1407.

CHAP. II.

History of the Bishops from St. Patrick, the first Founder of Christianity, to the Time when the Patronage of the See was granted to Sir John Stanley; with Conjectures as to the Condition of the Manx under their Native Princes.

HAVING brought the civil history down to this epoch, I shall look back to the ecclesiastical records during the same period, and then indulge a few conjectures on the general state of the country, and the character of the inhabitants during these turbulent ages.

The founder of Christianity in the Isle of Man was St. Patrick, who, in the year 444 *, making a voyage with a company of thirty religious

* St. Patrick founds Christianity, Anno 444.

persons from Liverpool to Ireland, whither they were bound to preach the gospel, was, by the interposition of providence, driven into this island, where he arrived in the latter end of the reign of Mananan Mac Lyr, whom he found, together with his people, sunk in idolatry, and as he says, much given to magic.

By his persuasive eloquence and the miracles he was enabled to perform, he soon made a wonderful progress in awakening a better spirit, so that although his stay in this island was limited to three years, he is stated in that short time, with the help of his followers, to have completely effected the conversion of the natives, or to have *expelled* those who remained obstinate in their errors: which last particular I am much inclined to question. In examining the operations of Christianity during the first ages, we cannot but perceive the immediate influence of a supreme power in its establishment; and that even without such influence, the potent example of St. Patrick and his companions, should have produced conviction in the minds of a community, such as the Manx must then have been, is far less wonderful, than that the same doctrines and instruments should have operated, as we know they did, on the luxurious and philosophical people of Greece and Rome.

But to expel those, whom they failed to convince, appears wholly inconsistent with the fundamental doctrines of that religion, which prescribes peace with all men. The lives of the early teachers were wholly governed by the sublime precepts they had received; and it remained for later times to twist these doctrines into instruments of oppression, or expulsion: but, however this was, it is well ascertained, that the church of Christ was actually founded at the time above stated, and that the inhabitants of Man never afterwards fell back, into the dark regions of Paganism.

When St. Patrick recommenced his voyage to Ireland, he appointed Germanus* his successor, who died before his patron, when Connindrius and Romulus, two persons of eminent piety and learning, were deputed to supply his place.

The chronicle of early Bishops, like that of the kings, is very defective, one or both of these last mentioned divines are believed to have survived St. Patrick five years, which brings us to A. D. 478†, after which the Manx have a legend of St. Manghold; who, having been captain of a banditti in Ireland, either as a punishment, or

* Germanus appointed bishop, Anno 448.

† Connindrius and Romulus bishops, Anno 478.

according to other accounts by a voluntary act of penance, was manacled hand and foot, and being in this state committed to the waves, in a small boat, was driven ashore on that part of the island, which, from this memorable event was named St. Maughold's head.

Being released from his perilous situation, he retired to the mountains, and consecrating his life to acts of devotion, became so exemplary for his piety, that he was at length elected bishop, by the unanimous wish of the people. The existence of St. Maughold as bishop of Man, is further confirmed, by the tradition of St. Bridget's having been induced by his reputation for sanctity, to make a voyage from Ireland, to receive the veil at his hands; according to Heylin, he died 578*.

In the year 600 the bishopric was occupied by Coranus†, tutor to the sons of Eugenius IV., king of Scotland, after whom there is no regular trace of the succession of diocesans, until the eleventh century. During this long interval an error sprung up, which gives the foundation of this bishopric to Pope Gregory, A. D. 840; the ground of which mistake was, that the

* St. Maughold, bishop, died Anno 578.

† Coranus bishop, Anno 600.

bishopric of the isles had its beginning about this time, being erected by St. Columbus*, probably a bishop of Man; who founded the abbey of Hye, in the Island of Iona, which monastery was, for a length of time, the cathedral of the isles: whose bishops were thenceforward styled Episcopus Sodorensis, as some say, from a village named Sodor, in the vicinity of the abbey; but as is conjectured, with much more probability, by others, from the division of the isles, into northern and southern, in the Norwegian language norde and suder, especially as it is ascertained to have been after the Isle of Man fell into the hands of the Norwegians, that the bishops bore the title of Sodor and Man.

The only authentic record at this time supposed to be in existence, is a manuscript, apparently copied from the Abbey Roll of Rushen, which says, that "although they had a traditional "succession of bishops from St. Maughold, yet "they were not certainly known; and therefore, "it was thought proper to omit them, and begin "from the time of king Goddard Crovan, in whose "reign Heymundus or Weymundus is recorded "to have been bishop of Man, and his decease is

* Bishopric of the isles founded by St. Columbus, Anno 840.

"dated A. D. 1151*;" but this is an evident anachronism; instead of Goddard Crovan it must have been Goddard, son of Olave, who was the reigning king in the time of Hamundus.

After him followed Gamaliel, an Englishman, who lies buried at Peterborough, in Northamptonshire, and was succeeded by Reginald, a Norwegian, to whom the clergy granted thirds of the livings, in lieu of all episcopal exactions, A.D. 1160†: Reginald was the first bishop consecrated by the archbishop of Drontheim in Norway, to which see that of Man was considered as subordinate.

After him, Michael, a Manxman, sat bishop, 1203‡. Then Nicholas de Melsa, abbot of Furness, who resigned 1216‖, and made way for Reginald, nephew to Olave II.

His successor John perished by fire 1230§, when a divine, called Simon, occupied the diocese; he was eminent for virtue and learning, and died at Kirk Michael, A.D. 1239¶.

* Wymundus, bishop, died Anno 1151.

† The clergy give tithes of their livings to the bishop, Anno 1160.—*Query*. Was this in addition to the third given by Olave, in 1104, see page 14.

‡ Michael, Anno 1203.

‖ Nicholas de Melsa, Anno 1216.

§ John, Anno 1230. ¶ Simon, Anno 1239.

Laurence, a Manxman, after being several years archdeacon, was elected to the bishopric, but never sat, being unfortunately drowned with Harold, and his queen, in 1243: or, according to Sacheverel, who is corroborated by the chronicle of the kings in 1248*. After him the see was vacant for six years, and then occupied by Richard, an Englishman; in his time the island fell under the power of the Scots, whose king, Alexander, on the death of Richard, in 1274†, appointed Marcus Galvadiensis; but the natives, irritated by the cruelties of their invaders, resisted his establishment, and drove him from the country, in consequence of which outrage, he procured an interdict to be passed against them, but being recalled, he laid a duty called a smoak-penny on every house, by way of commutation. He died in extreme old age, and was buried in St. Germans.

His successor, Maurice, also a Scotsman, was sent prisoner to London, by Edward I. when he possessed himself of the island, 1287‡: and his place was supplied by Allen of Galloway, who died 1321‖.

* Laurence, Anno 1248. † Richard, 1274.

‡ Marcus Galvadiensis died. Maurice dispossessed, Anno 1287.

‖ Allen died Anno 1321.

Gilbert, the next bishop, sat only two years, 1323*. Brennus, three years, 1327†.

Thomas then governed the church fourteen years, he was the first who exacted twenty shillings by way of procuration, from the clergy: and likewise claimed the tythe of all aliens' goods, he died Sept. 20, 1348‡.

William Russel was elected by the clergy, and consecrated by pope Clement, at Avignon: this was the first prelate who shook off the supremacy of Drontheim; he was abbot of Rushen eighteen years, and bishop of Man twenty-six; he died 1374‖.

The clergy on his decease, again exercised their right of electing a bishop, and their choice fell upon John Duncan, a native, who, going to Avignon, to be confirmed by Pope Gregory, was made prisoner on his return, and lay in irons two years at Bologna, in Picardy: from whence he was forced to ransom himself by the payment of five hundred marks, an enormous sum in those days, and implying great dignity in the person on whom it was imposed: he died

* Gilbert died Anno 1323.

† Brennus died Anno 1327.

‡ Thomas died Anno 1348.

‖ William Russel died Anno 1374.

1396*, and was succeeded by Robert Wilby, who held the see twenty-two years.

After him sat John Sperton, the first bishop, mentioned in the Manx records, and the last before the island devolved to the house of Stanley.

* John Duncan died Anno 1396.

CHAP. III.

Conjectures respecting the Situation of the Manx under their Native Princes—Account of Sir John Stanley—Manner of holding a Tynwald Court—remarkable Decision of Deemsters respecting the Rights of the Keys—Discontent of the People—unsettled State of Landed Property—Thomas, Second Earl of Derby, exchanges the Title of King for that of Lord of Man.

THIS being the commencement of a fresh era, I think it cannot be unentertaining to inquire what was the state of the country, when it fell into the possession of its new sovereigns, as well as what had been the early characteristics of the people; subjects now so far involved in obscurity, that I am aware my conjectures can only be founded on analogy, and must after all issue in mere *possibility*, or at most *probability*.

When we consider the situation of the Isle

of Man, surrounded by rival states, from whom it was continually exposed to invasion, it seems unequestionable, that the character of the people, must have been bold and warlike: the very tenure by which they held their possessions, included courage and skill to defend them: and accordingly we find their native hardihood celebrated in various occasions, and however insignificant the island may now appear in comparison with other nations of Europe, its rank during the time of which I am treating must be estimated on a very different scale, when all the neighbouring countries were broken into small principalities under various and opposing sovereigns; the domain of Man, even without the numerous isles dependent on it, was in extent equal to many petty kingdoms, both in France and England.

Nor are we to estimate the attainments of its principal inhabitants, by any thing we see in later times; the kings of Man were repeatedly distinguished for prowess, and they were associated with the most exalted and chivalric characters of those romantic ages. The qualifications necessary to attain this honour, were undaunted courage, an unbending spirit, and all the scholastic learning of the times: endowments which could not subsist alone, and though

these were frequently accompanied by great vices, yet were they in many instances adorned by uncommon virtues, and although in a future period we shall find the people little benefited or improved by tbe superior qualities of their rulers*, yet in those days, when the kings lived amongst them, and by keeping in Man, the court of the independent isles, must necessarily have drawn the chief of the nobility into its focus, if not as constant residents, yet as occasional visitors to, or attendants on the sovereign, it can hardly be doubted that the benefit of such association must have circulated through the whole mass.

Another corroborating proof of the relative

* Camden says, "that the *early kings* created barons, "knights, and esquires, but the lords of the house of "Stanley conferred no titles of honour: that the one should "exercise, or the other relinquish this right, must have "arisen from the different ranks they had to govern, when "the people were more elevated in character, titles and "distinctions would follow of course: but these could "neither be bestowed, nor would they be desired by mere "ignorant peasants, such as the Stanley's had to govern." Camden further states, "that in his time there were only "six families of note in the island, though there had for-"merly been much nobility."

rank of these islanders, is deducible from the station occupied by their fugitive princess, when compelled to quit her native land: for though divested of her property, yet we perceive that she must have maintained a certain dignity at the English court; her petitions for redress were presented to the king in person, the alliance contracted by her was in the first class of nobility, and her descendants seem to have been regarded as royal in all the proceedings which took place for their restoration.

Hector Boethius says, "that Man was in those "days the seat of all honest learning and erudi- "tion:" other authors mention it as the mansion of the muses. The language itself bears evidence to these truths, for though it is a dialect of the Erse, yet it is embellished with many words, and even whole sentences, derived and scarcely altered from the Latin.

Cotemporary historians mention the Isle of Man as the academy for educating the princes of Scotland: Eugenius IV., a king eminent for talent and virtue, spent nine years in this retreat, and as a strong testimony of the advantages attainable here, he consigned his two sons to pursue the same course under the guidance of the wise and pious Bishop Coranus; for it is

even recorded that previous to the establishment of Christianity, the discipline of these schools was advanced to a high pitch of reputation.

Ederias and Corbred, surnamed Gald, for his extensive learning, both received their education under the Druids of Man, together with Eugenius II. Cognatellus, and Kinnatellus: all kings of Scotland. These circumstances form a mass of evidence, not easily controverted, and however a subsequent course of events may (as I must confess they have done) have erased all trace of scholastic knowledge, yet is not this more to be wondered at, than the total change which has been effected in the face of the country itself: which has so completely lost one feature as to excite considerable doubts whether it ever existed—I allude to the forests, which we may gather from several circumstances, formerly flourished over the whole island! That such was the case, appears from the roots and even whole trees which are to this day frequently dug out from the bogs and turbaries; besides which, woods and forests were so essentially necessary to the Druids, that without them the performance of their religious rites would have been impossible.

In the chronicle of the kings of Man, is also

an anecdote of Goddard Crovan, who, as that author relates, having been defeated in two descents, " what he could not bring to pass by force, he effected by policy: for gathering together a great multitude, he came again in the night to the haven called Ramsay, and having hid three hundred men in a great wood on the the brow of a hill called Sceafield, he by this ambush, gave a turn to the battle, and secured his success."

There is also an ordinance in the Statute book dated 1504, where the duty of a *forester* is explicitly laid down, implying, beyond a doubt, not only the existence of forests, but that they occupied a very considerable extent of the country *.

But although I have found some data on which to ground my hypothesis, of the learning and dignity of this people, as well as in one particular of the fertility of the soil, I confess myself wholly at a stand, as to their legislature, population, or commerce. For the first we have reason to believe that the kings, though completely despotic, had yet adopted some of

* Camden says, " there are no woods now in the island, " though in former times there were great store in all parts " of it."

the customs of the neighbouring countries, and that like feudal lords they governed by a council of elders, or wise men, which in this case was borrowed, both in form and name, from the Danes; being called a Tynwald from the Danish word Ting, a court of justice, and "wald" fenced; and although this assembly in its present form has an appearance of popular government, yet it was in its origin materially different, being really a body picked out by the Lord or King; assembling at his command—dissoluble by his pleasure—and consequently only an instrument to enforce his authority and secure its operation.

The deemsters are of great antiquity, and have ever been held by the people in such reverence and respect, that it is clear they must have originated from some sacred source: their power indeed even to this time, bears a strong resemblance to the institutions of the Druids, who, combining both priest and magistrate in one person, were made the depositories of the laws, which they were even forbidden to commit to writing, lest they should fall into the hands of the uninitiated; and this precaution has been observed to a very late date, nor is it wholly laid aside at this day. In the statute book it is declared, "that as to written laws there were none

such known, since the days of king Orry;" and it appears by the same authority, that for a length of time after the Stanleys came into power, custom still induced an application, to the deemsters, to decide all doubtful questions; and that their interpretation of the laws passed for full and sufficient authority: though by what intuitive or prescriptive right these men became such adepts in legal knowledge, is not declared.

The population during the Norwegian succession is at this time very difficult to ascertain: but I conjecture it must have been internally more considerable, or else have been greatly augmented from the out-isles in former ages; else would the continual warfare in which the people were engaged, have completely drained the island of inhabitants; and which indeed appears to have been nearly effected during the last contest with the Scots.

The Manx must also have possessed a flourishing navy *, several sea-fights being upon record, in which, from one to two hundred ships were engaged: these no doubt were vessels of small burthen, but sufficient to assert their power at

* The island, in former times, was well stored with shipping, being able to equip a fleet of four-score sail, though now they have not a bark above forty tons burthen.

sea, and prevent the approach of invaders to the coast, as well as to facilitate the communications with the out-isles, and carry on the little commerce maintained with the neighbouring countries; which however must have been very limited, it not being likely that the Manx ever possessed any superfluities for the purpose of barter, except perhaps what they derived from their fishery, or the increase of cattle: but of the precious metals, or any other valuables, to create an extensive trade, there is no trace of such having been in existence.

Presuming from what has been said, that this island, in the time of its early kings, held a different rank in this quarter of the globe, from that which must be assigned to it, after the great change of their government; it remains to account for the alteration, which will not be a task of any great difficulty.

In other countries, combination and union, by increasing the physical force of the people, and multiplying their resources, have raised them to a pinnacle, no longer admitting of comparison: whilst here, the fall of the nobility!—the frequent changes of sovereignty!—and the inducements held out to individuals, possessed either of talents or property, to emigrate from a sinking to a rising state, must necessarily

have operated to cloud the scene of Manx prosperity.

When fame and fortune depended on mere bodily prowess, the natives of Man were as likely to obtain their share as any other individuals; but when adventitious aids bacame requisite to pave the way, it was a natural consequence, that all who could do so, would follow where prosperity pointed.

Besides all this, the frequent transfers, and sales of the island, were, in themselves, enough to eradicate the last traces of national spirit: to sell a whole people without reference to their wishes, or reservation of their rights, implies a race of slaves, wholly deprived of the power either to resist or even to make conditions; and before the Manx could have been reduced to this ebb, repeated convulsions must have weakened the whole political frame, and sunk them into such a state of apathy, that the single good of a bare existence was nearly all of which they were capable.

Such seems to have been the condition of the people when the Stanleys took possession of the island; their kings destroyed! their nobility dispersed! and scarcely an individual left in the country of a rank above the peasantry. The history of a people so depressed can be little

more than an account of their rulers, and accordingly we find, for more than three centuries, scarcely an event unconnected with the memoirs of their lords, from whence I have endeavoured to trace out such particulars as relate to the island.

In speaking of the illustrious house of Stanley, I shall follow the account given by Mr. Seacombe, who published their history in 1741, and seems, with uncommon pains, to have collected all particulars relative to them or their possessions. He affirms, in contradiction to Camden, and other writers, that the family, bearing the name of Stanley, or Stonely, were settled in England, long before the conquest: that they held large possessions in the north of Staffordshire; but that an heiress of this house being united to one Adam de Audithley, a favourite of William of Normandy, gave rise to the idea that the Stanleys came in with the Conqueror: whereas the name was really adopted from the mother: as was frequently the case when large possessions descended in the female line.

The genealogy is, by the same Author, very clearly traced out in all its branches, down to Sir William Stanley, the seventh male heir, who, in 1354, had issue two sons, William and John.

Although both these gentlemen bore a distinguished part in the history of those days, I shall confine my relation to the latter, as first possessor of the lordship of Man.

Sir John, the date of whose birth * is rather uncertain, could not however have been more than twenty years of age, when he bore the rank of captain at the battle of Poictiers, where he greatly distinguished himself: and during the truce, which immediately followed this memorable victory, he set out on the tour of Europe, visiting most of the courts, and gathering laurels wherever he appeared: to such a height had the fame of his martial achievements at length arisen, that on his return to England he was followed by a certain French knight, who had the audacity to challenge all England to produce his equal in arms! This defiance, (as was indeed the design of the haughty champion) was instantly accepted by Mr. Stanley.

The contest took place by the king's direction, and in his presence, under the walls of

* Seacombe is guilty of a strange anachronism, he dates Sir John's birth twenty-seventh Edward III. that is in the year 1354, yet affirms him to have been a captain at the battle of Poictiers, in 1357; this mistake is also adopted by Rolt in his account of the Isle of Man.

Winchester, where Mr. Stanley fought, and killed his opponent; which public and gallant action obtained him the honour of knighthood, and the favour of his warlike sovereign: nor were the fortunate consequences of this rencontre confined to an acquisition of mere empty honours: his courage, and accomplishments, secured him a higher prize, in the affections of the fair Isabel, heiress of Latham, in Lancashire, with whom he soon after contracted a marriage, which invested him with all the wealth of that family.

On the accession of Richard II. to the throne, Sir John Stanley was sent to Ireland, to assist in the reduction of that kingdom, in which he had such success, that on the airival of Richard, who followed him in person, in the year 1379, he brought no less than six Irish kings * to make submission, and do homage to the king of England; who, in consideratiou of this great service, granted a considerable portion of lands to Sir John, in that country, and also appointed him governor; in which office he continued

* O'Neil of Ulster; Rothric O'Conner of Connought; Carol of Uriel; O'Rorick of Meath; Arthur Mc Mur of Leinster; and O'Brien of Thomond.

until 1389, when Richard made a second visit to Ireland, and remained there all the winter: during whose absence the duke of Lancaster made his first attempt on the crown of England.

Whether Sir John had any personal cause of discontent, or by what motives he was influenced, does not appear, but it is certain he was one of the first of the English nobility who attached himself to Henry of Lancaster, by whom he was re-appointed to the vice-royalty of Ireland, whither he hastened in 1390, to enforce the authority of his new master.

Henry, sensible to his services, rewarded them with munificence, and on all occasions distinguished Sir John by particular marks of favour; as a new proof of which, at the suppression of Northumberland's rebellion, he granted to him the lordship of Man, in the year 1407 *, as before stated.

It does not appear that Sir John visited his new acquisition, probably restrained from so doing by his avocations and appointments at the court of Henry, to whom he was treasurer of the household, and lord chamberlain: this noble-

* Sir John, first Lord of Man, 1407.

man out-lived his patron a short time, and died at Ardee, in Ireland, in the year 1413 *, the first of Henry V.; having made a conspicuous figure during the reigns of three monarchs.

He was succeeded by his son, Sir John, who having spent a short time in the service of his natural sovereign, at length turned his attention to his own little dominion, then languishing under the effects of former oppression, and calling for the fostering hand of its prince to revive the spirits of the people.

Accordingly, in the fourth year of his succession, he landed in Man †, and it is recorded of him, that being of mature age, and great experience, he wisely considered that a regulation of the laws were a lasting happiness to the people, and the best security to the lord; and therefore, with the advice of the deemsters, and others well skilled in the ancient government, he assembled the whole body of the people at a certain place in the centre of the Island, called the Tynwald Mount, where it had been a custom

* Died at Ardee, 1413. Sir John, his son, second lord, same year.

† His first visit to the Island, 1417.

in old times, to promulgate the laws; and there he held his first court, on the 24th June, 1418, on which day the same ceremony has been annually observed to the present time, only varying at the alteration of the style, to the 6th of July. The form and manner of holding this court being laid down with great precision, in the written statutes, I shall insert it verbatim; and it may serve as an additional evidence of the state and dignity maintained by the ancient kings of Man.

" How the lord should sit at the Tynwald.

" Our doughtful and gracious lord, this is the constitution of old times, how you should be governed on the Tynwald day.

" First, You shall come hither in your royal array as a king ought to be, by your prerogatives and royalties of the land of Man; and upon the hill of Tynwald sit in a chair covered with a royal cloth and cushion: your visage to the east, your royal sword before you, holden with the point upwards, and your barons in the second degree sitting beside you; your beneficed men and your deemsters sitting before you: your clerks, knights, esquires, and yeomen, about you, in the third degree; and the worthiest men of the land to be called in before your deemsters.

If you will ask any thing of them, and to hear the government of your land and your will, and the coroners to stand without the circle of the hill with three clerks in their surplices, then the deemster shall call in the coroner of Glanfaba, and he shall call in the coroners of Man, with their yards in their hands, with their weapons on them, either sword or axe, and the moars of every parish.

"Then the coroner of Glanfaba shall make fence upon life and limb, that no one shall make disturbance or stir, in the time of Tynwald; or any murmur or rising in the king's presence, on pain of hanging and drawing: and then shall let your barons and all others know you to be their lord and king, and what time you were received here into your land, as heir apparent in your father's days; and all your barons of Man, with the worthiest men and commons, shall do you faith and fealty: and forasmuch as you are, by the grace of God, Lord and King of Man, now you Will, that your commons come unto you, and shew their charters how they hold of you and the barons, that have made no faith and fealty to you, shall make it now," &c. &c.

In this formula, no specific mention is made

either of keys or council; but it appears, that at the first meeting, some new laws and several old ones were made or confirmed. It was at that time ordained, that even sanctuary should be no protection in cases of treason: a most extraordinary circumstance in those times. It was also expressly declared, that the government of England had no authority in the Isle of Man, nor in the ports of the island, the Lord being Admiral of Man from Reginald. Another ordinance made it penal in life and limb to accuse the deemsters of wrong. And to falsify their token; (viz. a bit of blue slate, with any mark they thought proper to use, scraped thereon,) incurred a fine of £3.

At this court some questions being put to the deemsters relative to established customs, their answers were ordered to be recorded in the statute book, as laws to be thenceforward observed in the island.

When Sir John returned to England he left one Thurstan his deputy, with instructions for the further settlement of the state, which was still much disturbed with doubts respecting rights and property. It is more than probable that Goddard Croven, though he acquired his possession by conquest, had notwithstanding given the

Manx some sort of fixed tenures; but upon the reduction of the island by the Scots, all this had fallen into confusion: the country was laid waste and the soil impoverished, because it was no person's individual interest to improve it.

In this first Tynwald, after the accession of the Stanleys, it had been given for law, that no man should hold the lord's lands but by payment of the full value; and for the better security of the lord and tenant, four able men of each parish were to be annually sworn, called the setting quest, who were to provide tenants for all unoccupied estates; and if they placed an insolvent tenant, they were themselves to pay the rent. The tenants had their names entered on the court rolls, after the manner of English copyholds, and the occupancy given them by the tenure of the straw, as was the custom in all bargains in England in those ages; but for any thing I can discern, these landholders were in no better situation than yearly tenants, holding under a common landlord.

In 1422, Sir John made a second visit to the island; and at a Tynwald court, a question being put respecting the keys, the following answers were given by the original oracles, the deemsters.

"Also we give for law, that there never were twenty-four keys in certainty, since they were first called Taxiaxe: these were twenty-four freeholders, to wit, eight in the out isles, and sixteen in your land of Man: and that was in King Orry's days: and since they have not been in certainty; but if a strange point will come, the which the lieutenant will have reserved to the Tynwald twice a year, and by the *leave of the lieutenant*,* the deemsters there to call on the best of his council, in that point as he thinks fit to give judgment. And without the lord's will, none of the twenty-four keys to be," &c. &c. &c.

This decision blew up the flame of discontent, which had been long smothering, to an absolute revolt; and a general rising of the commons was the consequence. The power of the lord was, however, too great to be materially affected by this popular ebullition. He had his two garrisons in arms, and was not likely to yield to a disorderly mob without a leader. On the contrary, having first quelled the tumult, he enacted as a law, that rising upon the lord, or his de-

* This curious reply, which is certainly no answer, is copied verbatim.

puty, should be punished with death; but as great numbers were then implicated in this crime, he at the same time proclaimed a general pardon for all such as would immediately make submission. This measure restored the public peace; but the source of discontent still remaining, Sir John, on his return to England, sent over Henry Byron, a gentleman of excellent talents and great steadiness.

Aware of the complaint which still rankled in the minds of the people, he began by a concession, which established him in their esteem. This was to send out his precept, directing six men to be chosen by the commons out of each sheading, and from these six he selected four, making up by this means the number of twenty-four keys; and having thus gratified the natives, he proceeded to hold a Tynwald, assisted by these new representatives.

He next instituted a severe inquiry into the conduct of the lord's officers; and having convicted the comptroller, John Coates, of great misconduct, both as it related to the nation and the management of the lord's revenue, he dismissed him with several of his coadjutors. He also relieved the tenantry from certain oppressive ordinances, and settled the government upon a solid foundation. At this time the old custom

was abrogated, which had permitted the deciding controversies by force of arms.

In 1433,* Sir John Stanley died, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, who was immediately appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and on his accession, representations being made of the miserable state of his subjects, from the total neglect of agriculture, which was a natural consequence of the unsettled state of their possessions, a new law was enacted, by which estates were to descend from father to son, or wanting such son, to the eldest daughter, or next of kin, from which time the people were induced to build, and make some small improvements. Being now complimented, as Sacheverell says, with the words, title, descent, inheritance, and heirship; they began to believe their property worth improving; so that by degrees they came to be considered as customary tenants, and to pay only a small gratuity or fine, such as a single rent on the change of every lord†.

The better to prevent the consequences of ill husbandry, an after law was made to restrain

* Sir John Stanley, second lord of Man, died, and was succeeded by Thomas, third lord, anno 1433.

† First Settlement of Manx tenures, made in the year 1435 or 6.

every man from selling, alienating, or mortgaging, without the consent of his lord, or his officers; but if, notwithstanding these precautions, any farm fell to decay, proclamation was made three Sundays, for the next of kin to assert his tenant right; and if none such offered, then it was free for some other chapman, or if none would enter upon it willingly, the eldest son of some better farmer was bound to uphold the rent; and therefore the eldest son of the farmer, was called the lord's treasure, but upon his taking possession of his own farm, he had the option to retain both, or either at his pleasure. This last regulation was, I think, carrying the system of vassalage as far as it would go.

Sir Thomas was created Baron Stanley in the year 1456*, and in 1460† he departed this life, leaving behind him an unblemished reputation and great wealth. He was succeeded by his eldest son, also bearing the name of Thomas, who was much engaged in supporting the cause of Edward IV. then contending for the crown of England; and his services were rewarded by that monarch with various posts of honour and

* Sir Thomas, created Baron Stanley, anno 1456.

† Died and succeeded by his son, Thomas II. anno 1460.

profit. On the death of the king he narrowly escaped assassination, in consequence of his determined opposition to the usurpation of Richard III. but he seems, after the death of the young princes, to have temporized with the tyrant, who probably to secure him in his interest, created him Constable of England.

But Lord Stanley having married to his second wife, Margaret, widow of Edward, Earl of Richmond, by whom he had one son, who in right of his mother, claimed the crown of Great Britain, he was early suspected of favouring the interests of that young prince: he did not however explicitly declare his intentions, till the contending parties met in the field of battle, when Lord Stanley with his forces joining the army of Henry of Richmond, decided the fortune of the day; and for this eminent service he was created Earl of Derby.* Nor was this too great a return for his attachment to Henry, in whose cause he had actually hazarded the life of his eldest son, Lord Strange, who was detained by the tyrant Richard as an hostage for his father's fidelity, and was very near falling a victim to his revenge.

* Thomas, second lord of that name, created Earl Derby in 1485, and died anno 1504.

This young nobleman died before his father, being, as we are told, poisoned at a banquet. He left two sons, of whom Thomas, the eldest, succeeded his grandfather, the Earl of Derby, in title and estate, and also in the lordship of Man*, of which as soon as he came into possession, he resigned the title of king, hitherto borne by its sovereigns, preferring, as he states in a letter to his son, to be considered as a great lord rather than as a petty king. Seacombe, in speaking of this resignation, observes that Lord Derby seems to have been farther induced by certain considerations of policy. "The grant of the isle to his ancestors having originated in the house of Lancaster, it was doubtless both prudent and politic to drop a title which might have given offence, now that the posterity of the house of York were established on the throne."

Nothing, however, can be more unfounded than this conjecture, since, in fact, it was by a union of the two houses that Henry claimed the crown of England; and of the predominance of that of York, he was during his whole life extremely jealous, so as even to sacrifice his domestic peace to the prevalence of this sentiment.

* Thomas, second Earl of Derby, and fifth lord of Man, succeeded in 1504.

CHAP. IV.

Further History of the Island under the Stanleys—Extraordinary Magnificence of Edward Third Earl of Derby—Curious Law respecting Trade—Accession of Henry the Fourth Earl—Regulations made by him—Accession of Ferdinando, and his Death—Is succeeded by his Brother William, who has great difficulty to establish his Claims.

THE second Earl of Derby seems to have set a higher value on his Manx territory than his predecessor had done; and to have made frequent visits; in which, as appears by the statute book, he enacted various laws, all of a feudal tendency. The island had been now for a considerable time settled in peace, and freed from foreign invasion: yet was the danger or probability of such an event still present to the posses-

sors, who kept regular garrisons in the two castles, and maintained the services of watch and ward all round the coast with great strictness. The whole population were then an armed militia, and the profession of arms, with the occupation of fishing, seems to have been the only objects pursued by them for a long course of time, whilst agriculture and trade languished for want of encouragement or support.

In the year 1522* this noble lord died, leaving one son, Edward, a minor; to provide for whose security, his father appointed no less than ten guardians or executors of his will: over whom he also placed five others of the first rank as supervisors, of whom the chief was Cardinal Wolsey: and his lordship farther directed, that during the minority of his heir, all his officers and servants in the Isle of Man should hold their rank and stations as at his death: and to ensure their fidelity, he confirmed to them the salaries they then enjoyed for life, doubling the annual amount from the period of his decease, till his son's majority should be complete.

But all these precautions were inadequate to the end proposed. The English estates of the

* Thomas, fifth lord of Man, died, and was succeeded by his son, Edward, a minor, Anno 1522.

young Earl were greatly injured and dismembered by the supervisors, particularly the Cardinal, who took better care of his own interests than he did of his ward's; and obtained many grants highly injurious to the trust. Yet with all these disadvantages, the Earl still retained an immense fortune, as appears from the many expensive expeditions in which he was engaged, in concert with his magnificent sovereign, Henry VIII, as well as the unusual splendor in which he lived, from whence his house was styled *the northern court.*

Immediately after he had attained his majority, he was one of the principal knights companions who attended Wolsey in an embassy to France. He was also with Henry at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, as it was emphatically styled; and at the coronation of Anna Boleyn, he conducted the Queen in his barge to Woolwich. On the accession of Mary, he was appointed Lord High Steward, and waited on her Majesty, nobly attended by upwards of eighty esquires clad in velvet, and two hundred servants in livery.

Upon Mary's death, although her successor, Elizabeth, knew he had been one of the privy council to the late Queen, against many members of which she entertained well-founded sen-

timents of dislike and resentment, yet was she so well apprized of the probity and loyalty of the Earl, that she continued him in the same station, and afterwards made him Lord Chamberlain of Chester, in which high office he closed his life in the year 1572.*

The following is a summary of the high character bestowed upon this nobleman by his biographer; and few, indeed, are there of the most powerful monarchs whose lives will bear such an eulogy, as is here bestowed upon the lord of the little Isle of Man; of whom it is said, "that his greatness supported his goodness—his goodness ameliorating his greatness! He was kind to his tenants, liberal to his servants, generous to his friends, and hospitable to strangers! His house was orderly and regular, a college for discipline rather than a palace for entertainment: his and his lady's servants being so many young gentlemen and ladies trained up to govern themselves by his example. His provisions were solid rather than dainty, which cost less and contented more: his table was constant, where all were welcome, but none invited. He had 220 servants in a check roll for forty years: twice every day, sixty old and decrepid persons were fed at his

* Edward, sixth lord of Man, died, Anno 1572.

expense; and on every Good Friday, 2000 persons received meat, drink, and money.

"Every gentleman in his service had a horse and man to attend them; to all which is added this high and just praise, that he was not munificent at other men's cost: for once a *month* he looked into his income, and once a *week* into his disbursements, that none should wrong him, nor any be wronged by him.

"The Earl of Derby, he would say, shall keep his own house, and prove that frugality, justice, and good management, consist with greatness, as length with breadth. Therefore it was observed of him, that after his death not a tradesman could demand a groat that he owed, or a neighbour restitution of a penny that he had wronged him of.

"The grand word with this nobleman was, on my honour, which was esteemed sufficient for any engagement: it was his privilege, that he need not swear for a testimony, and his renown that he would not for his honour."

I trust I shall be pardoned for this long extract, which has certainly somewhat of a digressive character; for though it does not bear exactly on the history of the Isle of Man, it must yet be interesting to the natives of that place, who cannot fail to be proud of a lord so greatly

and deservedly distinguished; and, I confess, I take particular pleasure in lingering over these vestiges of the solid magnificence of former days; nor is it possible to avoid contrasting them with the tinsel parade of the present times.

The historian who shall have to record hereafter the style of living in the house of a nobleman, in the eighteenth century, will not, perhaps, say much of the charity, the frugality, or the stately dignity and reserve kept up there: but they may tell a more glaring story of thousands expended on a single entertainment, where the flowers and fruits of summer were mingled with the ices of winter, and the very seasons intermixed in a confused assemblage for the entertainment of those who disdain the simple and rational arrangements of nature and reason. They may tell of masquerades and pharo tables, of velvet hangings and Grecian lamps, apartments representing Turkish harems, and parterres turned into Arabian deserts. Should the writer descend, as the biographer of Lord Derby did, to the domestic arrangements, the brightness of the picture will be clouded with a view of every species of disorder and neglect: where each subordinate individual is employed in a separate scheme to circumvent his superior, whilst the tradesmen who have supplied the whole torrent of luxury, are either pining in dis-

tress for the sums due to them on this prodigal expenditure; or enacting on a false credit, and in a narrower circle, an epitome of the same vices and follies, which in their occasional visits they have beheld, drawn out to their utmost reach by their superiors!!

If a part of the extensive charities and princely hospitality of these earlier times, may with some justice be charged to the account of ostentation, yet was the real good effected, undoubted in its operation; and the whole had a more respectable character than can be ascribed to the luxurious egotism which now prevails.

In perusing the traits thus brought forward respecting the second Earl of Derby, one thought must, however, occur, accompanied by regret, suggesting how little his Manx dominions were benefited by the supremacy of this exalted character. No mark, not even a tradition, remains to prove that *they* profited in a single instance by his wisdom or his munificence. He made laws, indeed, but they were to regulate his own officers, to protect, not his people but his revenue; and whilst all others of his dependents derived honour or profit from the greatness of their lord, the natives of the Isle of Man were suffered to pine in utter neglect or oppression.

On the death of Edward, second Earl of Derby, his son Henry succeeded to his estates

and titles in the year 1572*: he is described as a nobleman of great learning and genius, as well as uncommon experience in public and private life. At the court of Elizabeth he held a distinguished rank.

In the year 1588† he made his first visit to the island, where, as it is said, "his presence "was imperiously demanded to restrain the im- "positions and severities of his officers, and to "revive the drooping spirits of his subjects." When I read this passage, I turned with eagerness to the statute book, and expected to have found a new era in Manx jurisprudence, from the date of this auspicious visit: but alas, no such traces appear; his regulations were, some of them, minute, and others whimsical enough, but none of them of a beneficial tendency. When I reflect on the talents, the individuals of the house of Stanley exhibited in public life, through so many reigns, I am inclined to believe that the mists which formerly shaded the Isle of Man were now employed to dim the perceptions of its sovereigns in all that regarded the internal policy of the country.

Amongst other matters of equal importance, we find this noble earl and his council busied in

* Henry, seventh Lord of Man, succeeded 1572.

† His first visit and several regulations made, 1588.

regulating the distribution of charity; they ordain, with the solemnity of a Tynwald court, "that beggars shall receive alms at the bell, but no poke or bag to be allowed! Aliens were forbid to go further inland than the next parish church! Irish women loitering about were to be removed with the first vessel." The poverty of the people may be gathered from the description of the dwellings; it being made felony, for any man to enter a house or cottage without first ascertaining that some of the inhabitants were within: "because," says an early writer, "in those days, they lived in mud hovels without doors, the entrance to which was occasionally secured by a bundle of gorse, or at other times by two sticks or a flail set across; which was but poor defence to that which was within, except a man were also protected by the laws." The furniture, however, seems to have been on a par with the mansions, as appears by the restraint laid upon the coroners, who are forbid to take the pot or pan of a householder (if it be his only one) under an execution; and also they are ordered to leave the woman her Sunday blanket, because that ought to descend to the next heir.

Trade was also fettered in a manner the most injurious. The merchant stranger immediately on landing on the island, was enjoined to go to the

deputy to shew him his *news*, and also to give to him and the lord's officers the first choice of his wares. After this ceremony had been performed, they were then to call in four men of the best in the island, who were to drive a bargain with the said merchant; and if these could not agree as to price or barter, no other competition was allowed: all which ridiculous precaution is declared to be adopted, to protect the inhabitants from imposition; for which it seemed no other device occurred, but the establishment of a positive monopoly.

The only popular laws enacted by the Earl Henry, was one preventing arbitrary imprisonment of the person; another regulating inheritance; and one for the recovery of debt. What other benefits were derived from his personal interference does not appear; if there were any such, they were probably of a temporary nature, of which all traces are now lost.

Camden states the Isle of Man to have been remarkably free from thieves and beggars; but his translator, Gibson, corrects this assertion, and observes, that though there was no stealing on highways, yet that they were much given to pilfering, as appears from the severe penalties enacted for stealing a hen, a goose, or even eggs; and that as for beggars, they were in

great numbers, both Irish and natives, with this characteristic distinction, that the Irish were used to raise a great cry and clamour at the door, whilst the Manx pauper entered the dwelling, and took his seat at the fireside till relieved. Was not this somewhat similar to the practice of the Romans? who when demanding relief or shelter, were accustomed to place themselves on the hearth, and claim the protection of the household gods. From whatever source this method of extorting aid was derived, it is still preserved in full force by the supplicants of the present day, who in country places yet establish themselves in the farmer's kitchen, till their demands are complied with. The same author observes, that there were not more than six families in the island, who dwelt in houses of two stories, all the rest inhabiting the mud cottages before mentioned.

In the year 1594,* Earl Henry retired to his house at Latham, where he died, leaving two sons, Ferdinando and William, both of whom were successively Earls of Derby. The first enjoyed his great possessions a very short time, being cut off in the prime of life by the treachery

* Death of Earl Henry, and succession of Ferdinando, Anno 1594.

of a servant, who administered poison to him. The cause of this diabolical act is not very clearly ascertained: the account Seacombe gives of it is far from being satisfactory. It is as follows: that Elizabeth having at that time many seditious subjects who had fled to foreign courts to avoid punishment, these fugitives sent over one Richard Hacket, to prevail on the Earl of Derby to set up a claim to the crown of England, founded on his descent from Mary, second daughter of Henry VII. threatening if he did not undertake this enterprize, that he should shortly die in a most wretched manner. The Earl naturally declined embarking in a plot so absurd; but it is extraordinary, that he suffered the messenger to escape. Shortly after he was seized with a severe and incurable sickness, which in a few days put an end to his existence. This deplorable event, according to the temper of the times, was generally ascribed to witchcraft; and a story is told of a waxen image found in his chamber, with hairs of the colour of his in its belly.*

But the real fact of the poisoning is well established both by the symptoms of his disease, and the flight of his gentleman of the horse, who

* Ferdinando died, Anno 1597.

the same day on which the Earl took to his bed, disappeared, and was never more heard of. Ferdinando leaving no son, his entailed estates descended to his brother, William, who had been so many years abroad, that his existence was at this time much questioned; and in consequence, the guardians to the daughter of the late Earl, took possession of the whole property for their wards, without reference to his priority of right as male heir; so that on his return to his native country, he found himself both an unexpected and unwelcome guest, having first to identify his person, and then with little money and few friends to contest his rights with a large class of opponents equally interested and powerful.

In this disheartening situation, he was recognised by several old tenants of the estates of Latham, Dalton, and Newburgh, who knowing him to be their lawful lord, supplied him with money to support his claim. The contest from the beginning appeared likely to be of considerable duration, and the government of the Isle of Man being in consequence thrown into a state of disorganization, the Queen of England, apprehending her declared enemies, the Spaniards, might resort thither to the disturbance of her peace, for better security, thought proper, in

1601,* to commit the care of the island to Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knt. till the controversy should be decided: but as one evil is generally the parent of others, so it happened that whilst the different branches of the house of Derby were contending who should possess the sovereignty of Man, a new question arose as to the original grant under which any one of them could establish a claim.

It appeared that Henry IV. had given the island to the Earl of Northumberland; that on the Earl's rebellion he resumed his gift, and bestowed it on Sir John Stanley, first for a year, and then for life; but Northumberland falling in battle, was neither attainted in parliament, nor his possessions confiscated at the time of the first grant, and the King's subsequent grant in perpetuity being founded on that original one for a year, made before the King was legally entitled to bestow it, could not be of any validity.

The Queen, however, out of regard to the noble house, whose ancestors had rendered such services to England, agreed to waive this question of right and the other matters relative to

* Sir Thomas Gerrard appointed to govern by the Queen of England, Anno 1601.

the property being adjusted by a sort of compromise and agreement, the sovereignty of the island was confirmed to the family on the same foundation.

All, then, that remained was, to ascertain the true heir, and after long argument, it was decided by the judges, that the heirs general must take it before their uncle, which decision was founded on the descent of the island in a former case from Reginald, King of Man, to his daughter Mary, and through her to Mary, the wife of Sir William de Montacute; whereupon, the said Earl William was forced to come to a treaty with the heirs general for the purchase of all their several claims and interests, which he at length effected, and being established in possession in the year 1607,* he applied to James the First for a patent, confirming the Isle of Man to him and his heirs for ever; which was accordingly granted, but under a restriction, that neither he nor his successors should sell, assign, or transfer, the island from his or their issue.

The conclusion of this nobleman's life was as remarkable as all the former part had been.

* Earl William confirmed in the Lordship of Man by patent, James I. anno 1607.

His early years were devoted to the pursuit of adventures in foreign countries, where his exploits and escapes made the popular legend of the times, and laid the foundation of many a romantic tale as well as song. The meridian of his days was involved in the perplexing and vexatious contests needful to establish his title, and rescue his property, which he only enjoyed a short time when he grew weary of the trammels of rank and dignity, and resolved to repose his harassed mind and worn-out body in the shades of complete retirement. At the time he formed this resolution, his son, the Lord Strange, was of an age and character admirably adapted to support the splendour of his illustrious house; and, in consequence, Earl William made a deed of gift in the year 1637,* by which he put him in present possession of all his rights, including the Lordship of the Isle of Man, reserving to himself only £1000. per annum, with which he retired, to close his life in peace on the banks of the Dee, where he died in 1642.†

I am now entering on the history of a man

* Isle of Man assigned to Lord Strange in the lifetime of his father, anno 1637.

† Earl William died, anno 1642.

who, though descending from a long line of heroes eminent for wisdom and virtue, and himself exposed, through his whole public life, to misfortune and mortification, yet amidst all the difficulties of the times, and his own situation, has universally been distinguished from the rest of his house by the title of the *Great* Earl of Derby: those who examine the records of this family, must naturally expect that the series of actions which elicited this honorable distinction, would be highly interesting in the detail; and therefore I shall make no apology for giving the leading particulars of the life of this exalted personage, connected as they are with the history and situation of the Isle of Man during that period.

CHAP. V.

History of James, commonly called the Great Earl of Derby, and Tenth Lord of Man—his Arrival in the Island—Disturbances there—First Account of Captain Christian—Lord Derby's Return to England.

JAMES, Lord Strange, began his public career in the year 1627, the third of Charles I. when he sat in parliament, as Baron Strange, at the same time with his father, the Earl of Derby. Sir William Dugdale, in his Chronicle of the Times, gives him this character; that, "setting aside the great state in which he lived, and his wonderful hospitality and beneficence, he was a person highly accomplished with learning, prudence, and loyalty; and was one, if not the first, of the peers that repaired to Charles at York, when the seditious Londoners had driven His

Majesty from Whitehall; and though he did not usually follow the court, yet, when he saw the king's affairs required his assistance, he thought himself obliged, both by religion and allegiance to serve him to the utmost of his life and fortune."

It is painful to observe, throughout the great contest which ensued, how ill the vast sacrifices made by this nobleman were received and requited, though the disinterested and pure principles of loyalty on which he acted, are evinced and enhanced to an unexampled degree by the treatment he received; yet must we ever review with wonder and disgust the folly, ingratitude, and suspicion, of the court to which he devoted himself; nor can we be much surprised at the fate of Charles I. when we see him influenced, in defiance of common sense, to insult and discountenance, the only man who, by his power and inclination, was able to prop his sinking fortune.

It is probable that, when questions of liberty and right were first agitated, in opposition to the exorbitant claims of prerogative set up by the king, the Earl of Derby had rather taken the popular side of the question; but that the moment he perceived the real tendency of these proceedings, he decided on giving his support

where it was soon likely to be most wanted. Contrary, however, to policy, which should have taught the ministers of Charles to receive such an ally with open arms, they seem from the beginning to have wished rather to drive him to contrary extremities; for which absurd conduct, only one rational cause can be assigned, and that was, the hope of dividing his immense possessions amongst them—a hope so remote, and so little supported by the aspect of the times, that it can scarcely be adduced as a reason.

But though Lord Derby was very coldly received by those about the king, yet he prudently concealed his sense of their neglect; and, with the plainness and integrity of his loyal mind, held himself at all times ready to receive and obey His Majesty's commands.

In the beginning of the civil wars, he availed himself of the esteem and respect with which he was regarded by the gentlemen and yeomanry in his immediate neighbourhood, to raise three thousand men for the king's service, whom he contrived to equip, though he had previously lent all his own arms to His Majesty, from whom he had a warrant to receive an equal number, as well as a sum of money for his services; both which, by the intrigues of the courtiers, he was prevented from obtaining.

The first considerable debate in which he met with strong opposition was, on the question where Charles should set up his standard; Lord Derby strenuously recommended Lancashire, as being in the centre of the northern counties, and directly accessible to the royalists in them, as well as in North Wales: he represented the Lancastrians as generally well affected, and engaged to furnish three thousand foot and five hundred horse at his own expence, besides which, he had no doubt of enlisting seven thousand more under His Majesty's pay: these convincing arguments so far prevailed, that it was agreed the standard should be set up at Warrington; upon which, his Lordship sat out to dispose the country for the service; and so far did his success exceed his hopes, that in three great musters made by him on the heaths of Bury, Ormskirk, and Preston, at least 20,000 men appeared in each field, most of them ready armed with pikes, muskets, or other instruments of war; but, strange to tell, the king, instead of availing himself of these extraordinary levies, and of those which the earl farther calculated on raising by his influence in Cheshire and North Wales, he suffered his jealousy to be excited by persons, who suggested that this excessive popularity of the earl was, in itself, a danger of

the most alarming description; they reminded him, that in the outset of his political career, Lord Derby had been in opposition to the court; they hinted his own near alliance to the crown; called up the popular principles of his ancestors as evidence against him; nay, even urged the act of Lord Stanley, who, at the battle of Bosworth field, had seceded from the cause of a murderous usurper, as justifying a doubt of the loyalty of his descendant!

By such ridiculous and unfounded insinuations, was this weak monarch induced, even in contradiction to his own wish, to set up his standard at Nottingham; and, not content with this change of plan, he was so insensible to his interest, as to be persuaded at this crisis, to divest the earl of the lieutenancy of Cheshire and of North Wales, and even to join Lord Rivers with him in the commission for Lancashire.

Had Lord Derby's mind been constituted on the common principles of human infirmity, these acts must have *made* the enemy, who was now only feared; but the earl, agreeably to the true greatness of his spirit, scorned to let the folly of others become the parent of crimes in him. He was distressed, because he saw the injury the royal cause must sustain; but, with reference to himself, preserved the utmost equanimity, both

of temper and carriage, and merely dispatched a gentleman to York, with letters to His Majesty, signifying his entire obedience to his pleasure, and adding,

"That although his enemies would not allow him to serve his king, they should never so far provoke him as to make him desert the royal cause; that he submissively resigned the lieutenancy of Cheshire and North Wales, to which he begged to add that of Lancashire also, rather than be subject to the reproach and suspicion of having a partner in the government," &c.

These letters had no other effect than that of inducing His Majesty to remove Lord Rivers, and leave the earl single in the command of Lancashire. But though he restrained all expression of resentment, yet was this injudicious and ungrateful return to his services highly injurious to the royal cause, and induced such a spirit of discontent in the north, that many gentlemen, hitherto well inclined, either deserted or remained neuter; and the people coming in very slowly to the king's standard, he began to reflect on his ill usage of the Earl of Derby, on whom he now called for that aid he had so pertinaciously rejected before.

Under all disadvantages, his Lordship again raised, clothed, and armed, three regiments at

his own charge, with whom he presented himself before the king at Shrewsbury. Manchester being at this time in the hands of the rebels, the direction of the earl's forces was, at Charles's particular request, given to Colonel Gerrard, who was despatched to invest that place, but he not making the immediate progress expected, the earl was sent thither to quicken the proceedings; nor was his eventual success in this enterprise very doubtful, when, with the usual fatality of his changeable councils, the king wrote to desire Lord Derby would return with his men, to support him against an expected attack in another quarter.

The earl, though mortified and disgusted, yet knew no principle of action but obedience, he, therefore, to the wonder and regret of his troops, raised the siege of Manchester, and, by forced marches, joined His Majesty, never doubting but he should still be permitted to retain the command of his own brigade. One knows not which to consider as most wonderful, the madness of the king, or the endurance of this excellent and powerful subject, when we find, that so far from this being the case, he was without any reason alleged, or even an apology offered, deprived of his forces, and beheld them transferred to two other officers, on the ridiculous

pretence that he must attend his charge as Lieutenant of Lancashire.

The earl, for the first time, ruffled with this shameful indignity, exclaimed "Sire, if I have deserved this treatment, I have deserved to die," and then demanded instant justice against his enemies or calumniators. The king, however, pacified him, by observing, that his own affairs were in disorder, that the rebels were in full march against him; and he entreated Lord Derby not to let any private quarrels interfere with matters of state, promising him ample satisfaction when the present troubles should subside. Though greatly and justly irritated, the earl was induced, by this remonstrance, to conceal his own vexation; and even by his wisdom and temper, contrived to allay the natural indignation of his friends, and induced the soldiers to obey the officers now appointed to supersede his command. But, from this time, he relinquished all personal attendance on the court, and employed himself in fortifying his house at Latham, in effecting which, he had great difficulties to surmount, having divested himself so completely of his arms and stores. Nevertheless, he contrived in two months time, to raise a good troop of horse, and two companies of foot, all of whom he lodged and maintained in his own house; and

with whom, in several sallies, he defeated parties of the rebels; and with the assistance of Lord Molineux and a part of his regiment, took the town of Lancaster by assault, and was in general so successful, that he struck a terror into the country, confined the rebels to their own garrisons, and encouraged the royalists who now flocked to his standard; so that he was enabled to march to Preston, which he succeeded in taking, after a most obstinate and sanguinary contest: he then proposed to Lord Molineux to march to Manchester, anxious to retrieve the fame, which he had hazarded, in obedience to his sovereign, when he raised the siege of that town almost in the moment of victory. To this expedition, Lord Molineux had partly given his consent, when he received orders from the king to join him at Oxford; and not only so, but, to the extreme astonishment of the earl, commissioners were sent to the officers of Lord Molineux's party, to recruit their broken companies out of the new raised forces of Lord Derby, who was thus not only deserted by his auxilliaries, but actually deprived of his own men, and left to make his way back to Latham-house alone, where he shortly after received an intimation from Charles, that he had intelligence of a design formed by his enemies against the Isle of Man,

and that he considered his lordship's presence there as absolutely necessary for the preservation of that place.

When Lord Derby read these dispatches, he exclaimed with more than ordinary concern, "that his enemies had now obtained their will, having prevailed on his Majesty to banish him to such a distance." However according to his usual system of implicit obedience, after ineffectually representing his fears, that all Lancashire would take the parliament side as soon as the influence and restraint of his presence should be removed, he reluctantly prepared to follow the course prescribed for him; having taken such precautions as were still in his power, for the defence of his lady and children, whom he was necessitated to leave in Latham House, he took shipping for the island; but before he departed, wrote the following letter to his son, Lord Strange, in justification of his conduct; and as he says,

"To take off the objections which those who knew not all the causes of his departure might very naturally make, when every gallant spirit had engaged himself for their king and country, that *he* only should leave the nation, desert his Majesty's service, and remain neuter" He then goes on to relate, "that at this time a

report was spread, that the Scots intending to assist the parliament would land in the north, and in their way endeavour to take the Isle of Man, which might prove of ill consequence to his Majesty's affairs. "I had also," says his lordship, "received letters from the island, intimating great danger of revolt there; for that many people, following the example of England, began by murmuring and complaining against the government, and from some seditious and wicked spirits, had learned the same lesson with the Londoners, to come to the court in a tumultuous manner, demanding new laws and a change of the old: that they would pay no tythes to the clergy, have no bishop, despised authority, and even rescued some whom the governor had imprisoned for insolence and contempt. It is also reported that a ship of war, which I had for the protection of the island, is taken by the parliament fleet; and therefore the Queen, with those of her council, strenuously recommend that I should go forthwith to the Island to prevent impending mischief, as well for his Majesty's service, as for the preservation of my own inheritance. How others may be satisfied with this short relation, I know not; but you, my son, are bound to believe well of your father, and I to be thankful to God that you so well under-

stand yourself and me; as for others I am unconcerned whether they understand me or not."

The Earl on his arrival at his principality,* found things in greater confusion than he had apprehended; to which many separate causes had combined. Two or three years before, a question had been agitated respecting the rights by which the inhabitants held their lands. The officers of Lord Derby, by raking up some old records and customs, either had, (or pretended they had) discovered that the lord had an indefeasible and absolute right in the landed property of the whole island, founded on the conquest of Goddard Crovan; who according to their account, when he took possession of Man, divided the whole among his followers, not as an absolute gift, but by grant as tenants at will; and as the sovereignty when bestowed upon Sir John Stanley, invested him with as full, positive, and unalienable rights, claims, and authorities as any former king had possessed, so it followed that his original title in the lands was equal to that of the first conqueror.

I know not by what logic this claim could be maintained, in opposition to the statutes, which provided in case of a failure of heirship in the

* Lord Derby arrived in the island, Anno 1643.

direct line, that proclamation should be made three successive Sundays for the next of kin to assert his tenant right; but in all probability, the lands had by this time increased in value, and the old rental or fines being thought too little, this expedient had been resorted to for improving the revenue; and as no title deeds or charters were in existence, the estates having, as before related, been granted by verbal cession, the people were entirely at the mercy of their lord, who now intimated a design to reassume the whole into his own hands.

This alarm having been spread, and suffered to take its full effect, it was not difficult to persuade an ignorant people to accept of the compromise which was subsequently offered: namely that they should make a voluntary resignation of the whole, on condition of receiving back their individual possessions on lease for three lives; and to this measure they were the more easily seduced by the example of their chief deemster, who was the first man to deliver up his estate; but no sooner had he led his countrymen into the trap laid for them, than he obtained an act of Tynwald, reinstating him in his former possessions; and by this shameless avowal of his perfidy, he opened the eyes of the natives to the treachery by which they had been misled.

This whole proceeding at any time would be regarded as equally hazardous and unjust; but at this crisis was more than commonly impolitic. The spirit of inquiry and resistance which had burst out in England, could hardly be prevented spreading to the Isle of Man; and fostered by such an act of oppression, was almost sure to create disturbance and revolt. Indeed, the project itself is so inconsistent with the high character and integrity of the Earl of Derby, that I can only account for its being carried into effect, by supposing that he was at the time so completely occupied in the affairs of his sovereign, and the situation of his native country, that he left the management of the island wholly to his officers, who took advantage of this neglect to oppress and circumvent the people; or, perhaps, believed by this arbitrary act, they should enhance their power, and be the better able to restrain the Manx, if in imitation of their neighbours, they should grow restive.

This policy, if such it was, proved extremely short sighted. The murmurs excited about the lands, soon ran out into other channels; and some impositions of the clergy, wherein they had hitherto acquiesced, were now loudly decried and even resisted. That there were some serious complaints made against the officers of Lord

Derby, appears evident from one of his letters to his son, in which he offers the following reasons for having appointed governor Greenhalgh at this time to be lieutenant.

"First, that he was a gentleman born, and such usually scorn a base action. Secondly, that he had a good estate of his own, and therefore need not borrow of another, which hath been a fault in this country: for when governors have wanted, and been forced to be beholden to those who may be the greatest offenders against the lord and the country, in such case the borrower becomes servant to the lender, to the stoppage, if not the perversion, of justice. Next, he was deputy lieutenant and justice of the peace in his own country; and he governed his own affairs well, and therefore was the more likely to do mine."

His lordship observes further in the same letter, "My coming was in good time, for it is believed by most, that a few days longer would have ended the happy peace which this island had so long enjoyed. When the people knew of my arrival, they were much affected with it; and I found that "Greenhalgh" had wisely corrected many errors by patience and good conduct; for observing the general disorder, he had considered the people were to be won as tame

wild beasts, and not by violent wrestling, lest they should turn upon us, and know their own strength.

"The captain before my coming had imprisoned a saucy fellow in the face of the rabble, by whom he was loudly supported, they declaring they would all fare as that man did; which the governor only answered by threats to lay every man by the heels, who should continue to behave in the manner that he had done; well knowing, if he had proceeded to punish the offender at that time, the rising would have been general, and they would have soon ascertained how little his staff of office could really do to annoy or hurt them. "Greenhalgh" then adjourned the court to another time, and ordered that they should put all just causes of complaint in writing, to which he promised redress, and so allayed the tumult for that time."

Soon after Lord Derby's appearance in the island, whither he was attended by a considerable train of gentlemen and servants, he called a meeting at the Tynwald Mount; where he invited every man to state his grievance, and by the dignified affability of his manner, revived the hopes of the people in his wisdom and justice: but as his own words will best describe the temper of the natives, together with the policy

adopted by him, I shall transcribe the passage from his own memoirs.

"When the people are bent on mischief, it is a folly rashly to oppose them, without sufficient power and force; neither is it discretion to yield to them too much, for reason will never persuade the senseless multitude; but keeping your gravity and state, comply with them seemingly, and rather defer the matter to another time, with assurance that you will forward their desires, by which you may gain time, as if convinced by their reasons, and not the fear of any danger from them; and by the next meeting you may have taken off some of their leading champions, and otherwise by good words and fair promises, soften them to your own will; remembering that tumults are easier allayed by daring and undaunted men, than by wiser ones."

"And thus I chose rather to give them hopes, and prevent their falling into violent measures till I could be provided for them; and, indeed, I feared so many were engaged by oath and covenant, after the new way in Scotland, that it would not be easy to make them sensible to their error. Nevertheless, matters were not so ripe as I could have wished; and it was not amiss

even to address myself to the chief actors in the business, telling them *somebody* was to blame; that I apprehended the people were misled, and that it would be an acceptable service in those who could bring them out of it; and if the common sort could be persuaded of their mistake, it would hinder any further inquiry into the business. Upon which some really confessed their faults, and discovered to me the whole design, by which I made one good step in dividing the faction, remembering the old proverb, "Divide et impera."

What this *design* was, is not explained; but I conceive from the regulations then made, that it must have been a limitation of the authority of the lord, or rather his officers, and a total expulsion of the clergy, against whom a violent and general aversion was engendered by their interference in certain temporal concerns, by no means properly coming under their cognizance; particularly the making of wills, an office they had so entirely arrogated to themselves, that the heads of the church actually refused to register any but such as had been drawn up by a minister; and the influence thus obtained over the minds of weak and superstitious persons on their death-beds, had been found highly injurious to

their descendants. Besides which, in many cases where no wills existed, the ecclesiastical officers had interfered to make unjust and arbitrary distributions of property. They also claimed a fee called a corpse present, which bore very heavily in proportion to the property left to a family; and withal demanded a tythe of the wearing apparel of the deceased, with many other exactions equally grievous and oppressive; and on the omission of survivors to pay any of these dues, or the neglect to bring in their tythes, it was a custom to repel the offenders from the sacrament at Easter, as well as to prosecute the matter in the spiritual court, where the clergy being judges in their own cause, and subject to no appeal, their proceedings were pretty sure of being supported and confirmed.

In fact such was the disgust this body had excited, that it absorbed many other subjects of complaint quite as imperious, though not so immediately felt, for we find that these grievances being redressed, and the clergy thenceforward restrained from all interference in laical concerns, the great question respecting the tenures was suffered to sleep, and actually did so till the time of James, the last Earl of Derby, in the year 1707.

I now recur again to Lord Derby's memoirs for some further account of the affairs of the island.

"After this," says his lordship, "I appointed another meeting at Peel Castle, where I expected much wrangling, and met with it, but had provided for my own safety, and if occasion were, to curb the rest; for in such cases it is good to be assured, of which notice being taken you will deal with them much better; otherways the old saying is very true, that he who is not sure to win is sure to lose."

Many busy bodies spoke Manx only, which some officiously said should be commanded to hold their peace, to which I objected, for I came prepared to give them speech, knowing by good experience that those people were their mother's children, loving to speak much, and should be dealt with accordingly, giving them liberty to put themselves out of breath, and they will be the sooner quiet, aud the more content if you deny them after much speaking than if you prevent it. I resolved to give them liberty of speaking in their own way, for to reason with them was in vain, provided they crossed not my motions, which I was careful should be just and lawful; and to bring my designs to pass, I had

spies amongst the busy ones, who after they had sufficiently spoke ill of my officers, began to speak well of me, and of my good intent to give them all the satisfaction their grievances required; that they were assured I loved the people, and that if any were so unreasonable as to provoke me, they would run a great hazard, as I had power to maintain my actions, from which there was no appeal."

Lord Derby then proceeds to speak of Captain Christian*, of whom he says, "*whilst I was here I became acquainted with one Captain Christian*†, who, I observed, had abilities sufficient to do me service, and being recommended to me by a friend, I inquired more of him, and was told he was a Manxsman born, and *had made a good fortune in the Indies*, and he offered on these terms, that being resolved to retire into his own country, whether he held the place of power or not, he would be content to

* The same who afterwards suffered for alleged treason to the countess and her family.

† By what follows, it is plain he must allude to some former period, most likely when he took possession of the island in his father's life time, as I find many acts confirmed by him when Lord Strange.

hold the staff of government, until I made choice of another; when he would willingly resign, and as for pay, he valued that so little, that he would do the service without any, or what pleased me."

"He was an excellent companion, and as rude as a sea-captain should be; but somewhat more refined and polished, by serving the Duke of Buckingham about a year at court: thus far I cannot much blame myself; but think if I had a jewel of value, I prized it at too high a rate, which he knew very well, and made use thereof to his own ends, abusing, and presuming on my support, in all his actions, which from time to time he gilded over with such fair pretences, that I believed and trusted him too much; also I gave too little heed to the complaints against him, which was my fault, for which I have been whipped, and *will do so no more.* Whilst he governed for *some years,* he pleased me very well, and had the quality of the best of servants; for whatever I bid him do, he performed, and if it succeeded ill, he would take it upon himself, but if well, he would give me the glory of it; this he did whilst I continued my favours to him, the denial of which would have been as ungrateful as unwise in me; if I should not thereby

have obliged him to me, as the only means to keep him good; but he was over forward in making many requests, which, while they were fit for me to grant, I did not deny; but indeed a good servant would rather be prevented by his lord's generosity, than demand any thing of himself; and choose to be enriched as if enforced, rather than pretend to it; and ascribe the benefit to the honour of his office, rather than to merit. But I observed the more I gave, the more he asked, and such things as I could not grant, without much prejudice to himself and others: so after a while I sometimes refused him, on which it was observed to fall out according to the old observation, that when a prince hath given all, and a favourite can well desire no more, then both grow weary of one another*. The earl now exerted himself so effectually to amend public grievances, that he soon established peace and unanimity in the island, and having lost all apprehension of further tumults; from curbing he turned his attention to benefit

* It is worthy of remark how greatly this account given of Christian differs from another, both taken from the same author.

his people, and to this purpose framed several wise and beneficial schemes, which were unhappily frustrated by the sequel of his melancholy fortune; speaking of his sovereignty, he says, "no subject that I know hath so great a royalty as this, and lest it should at any time be thought too great, I keep this rule, that I may more securely keep it; 'To fear God and honour the King.'"

His lordship remarked, with some concern, that by going to the top of Mount Barrule he could see England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, an extensive prospect of adjacent kingdoms, such as no other place under heaven can boast, and he adds his regret, that his own principality, though within sight of *all*, should yet derive so little benefit from any! He declares, that the country is far better than he had supposed, and takes shame to himself who was so little acquainted with his own, observing in a letter to his son, that this Isle will never prosper, until some trade or manufactory be established in it, and even that, if carried on simply by merchants, or strangers, will not suffice, unless encouraged and supported by the example of the lord himself, by which means you may grow rich yourself, and others under you improve

the land, so that in time you shall have neither beggars nor loiterers, and where you have one friend now, you shall have many; every house shall become a town, every town a little city! The sea will abound with ships, the country with people, to the great benefit and enrichment of the whole." *

The earl even entertained an idea of erecting a university here, a thought probably originating in the traditionary fame of the island, for scholastic learning, and certainly he mentions some things which might have been advantageous in framing such a seminary, particularly the cheapness of living, and the absence of all temptations to luxury or dissipation: at the same time the barbarous and almost savage state into which the natives had sunk, during two centuries of depression, left no likelihood of support from internal talent or example: and to lay down a design, of which all the materials were to be drawn from foreign sources, seems a scheme almost too visionary for the steady and rational character of this nobleman.

* The truth of this observation is every day becoming more obvious, nor do I think Lord Derby's extensive calculations of benefits to be derived from such co-operation are at all exaggerated.

All these purposes of utility and public good were, however, interrupted by the alarming intelligence the earl received, of the extremity to which his wife and family were reduced in Latham house, which had now been under siege for four months, and was still defended by the extraordinary courage and genius of the heroic countess.

His lordship, in consequence, resolved once more to revisit England, where he landed in April, 1644, and immediately implored the king's favour and assistance, for the relief of his lady and children. Prince Rupert having, at this time, obtained a victory over the rebels at Newark, his majesty directed him to take Latham house in his way through Lancashire to York; and to quicken his highness in his march, Lord Derby gave the soldiers a largess of £3000, which he had raised on his lady's jewels, conveyed to him out of Latham house by a sally.

The prince having entered Lancashire, and defeated a party of the enemy at Stockport bridge, the news of his approach induced Rigby, the commander of the forces before Latham, to raise the siege of that house, and accordingly he quitted the trenches, and with all

his strength, being about 2000 men, hastened to secure himself in a garrison of the rebels in Bolton, where, with this accession, they made up an army of 2500 foot and 500 horse. With these Rigby resolved to give defiance to the prince, who, being advertised that the siege of Latham was raised, and the late besieger with his army fortified in Bolton, determined to do all in his power to avenge the affronts and sufferings of his relation, the Lady Derby; wherefore he hastened to Bolton: here he at first met with a repulse, and called a council of war to decide upon his future proceedings, when the earl considering how much he was concerned for his lady and children, who, unless the town was taken, would immediately upon the prince's departure, be again besieged, requested his highness to allow him only two companies of his own old soldiers, then on the spot, under the command of Colonel Tyldesley, and to give him the honour to command the van, saying, "he would either carry the town, or leave his body in the ditch." The prince, after some importunity, consented, and every thing being prepared, orders were given to make the assault on all parts of the town at once, where it was possible to make any approaches.

To conceive the enthusiasm by which the

men commanded by the earl were actuated, we must take into the account, that these were a part of his own tenantry, called forth at first from affection to his person, clothed at his expense, separated from him with a reluctance which had never been forgotten, now unexpectedly restored to his sight and his command; and led by him to avenge the insults which every man felt in his own person, as having been offered to the beloved lady and children of their lord, their friend and benefactor. Thus inspired, no physical strength could withstand or oppose their energy; they followed their brave leader directly to the walls, and after one quarter of an hour's dispute, entered the town, and either destroyed or drove out the whole rebel force. This action was performed May 23d, 1644, and the sudden and surprising conquest of this town is wholly to be ascribed to the courage and resolution of the brave earl, and his 200 Lancashire men.

The prince sent all the colours taken at Bolton to the Lady Derby, and from this place was prevailed on to march to Liverpool, where the rebels had a strong garrison, under Colonel Moore; and where, after some difficulties, the same success attended them as at Bolton; after which, the Prince and Lord Derby took Latham

house in their way to York, where he staid some days, to refresh himself and his men, and viewed with regret and astonishment the shattered state to which that magnificent building had been reduced during the siege, without having subdued the heroic spirit of its noble mistress.

Having well considered the outworks, together with the commodious situation of this place for defence, the prince gave directions to add several bastions, counterscarps, and other works necessary for its better protection, in case of another attack, and bestowed the command at the request of the countess, on Captain Edward Rosthern, leaving two troops of horse for a garrison: and having recruited his army, his highness now urged the earl to return with his lady and children to the Isle of Man, a piece of advice so inconsistent with the interest of the king in whose cause they were now contending, that it is impossible at this distance of time to account for it: but in whatever motive this council originated, it was immediately adopted, and the whole of the noble family sought on the barren shores of Man, that peace which was banished from the more fertile plains of Great Britain.

The earl left in his house at Latham, his

domestic chaplain, Mr. Rutter, then archdeacon, and afterwards bishop of Man; and also another gentleman, who had hitherto been attached to his person, by whose excellent disposition due provision was made for the defence of that place, of which the siege was very soon renewed, and the house was at length taken, after an obstinate resistance.

CHAP. VI.

Continuation of the History of the Earl to his Death—The Island surrendered to the Parliament—Restored to Charles, Earl of Derby, on the Accession of Charles II.—Trial and Execution of Captain Christian—The Manx obtain the Act of Settlement from Earl William, on whose Death the Island passes into the Athol Family—and is finally invested in the Crown of Great Britain.

FROM the time of the earl's return to the Isle of Man, till the year 1651, he and his family reposed in peaceful seclusion, and the benefits attending his residence were widely diffused amongst his subjects. Until this time the Manx had scarcely known the use of coin as a

circulating medium, none having ever been issued in the island, and but little brought from other countries: hitherto the rents had been paid in corn or cattle; and the little commerce carried on had been maintained by barter: but as many people besides those immediately attached to Lord Derby sought shelter here from the disturbances in England, the prosperity of the community was greatly advanced, and a striking improvement in the manners and habits of society took its date from this era.

As to the earl himself, his state and his means were much curtailed by the sequestration of his vast possessions, a small part only of which he, or rather his children recovered in 1646, being sent over by him for that purpose, in consequence of an act of parliament then passed for compounding with delinquents; under which his seat and lands at Knowsley were restored to the use of his family: and he was further informed, that on his submission to the existing government, the whole property should be refunded: but this he absolutely rejected, and at length the short gleam of peace was clouded over by the renewed malice of Bradshaw, commonly called the bloody president, who instigated the parliament forces against the family, on account of the resistance of the earl, who detained the Isle

of Man, in defiance of their orders: and in consequence, the two ladies, his daughters, Catharine and Amelia, were made prisoners in Liverpool, whither they had fled from Knowsley on the first alarm, intending to proceed to the island; and so deplorably were these illustrious persons reduced, that they were even obliged to solicit their daily bread, from people almost as necessitous as themselves. Upon a complaint made to General Fairfax, by the unhappy sufferers, he sent a message in writing to the earl, purporting, that if he would deliver the island to the parliament, his children should not only be set at liberty, but he should peaceably return to the enjoyment of his English estates: to which his lordship returned this answer:

"That he was greatly afflicted by the sufferings of his children! that it was not the course of great or noble minds to punish innocent children for their fathers' offences; and that it would be clemency in Sir Thomas Fairfax to send them back to him, or to Holland or France; but if he could do none of these, his children must submit to the mercy of Almighty God, but should never be redeemed by his disloyalty."*

* There is another letter upon record in the Manx Statute

And thus they continued prisoners for eighteen months, until Charles II. having been crowned king in Scotland, was enabled to make an attempt on England, and invited Lord Derby to join him there. The earl immediately took his departure with a train of three hundred gentlemen, who had accompanied him in his retreat, and now gladly exchanged a scene of quiet and safety, for another effort in the royal cause.*

Book, dated 1649, addressed by the earl to Lieutenant-General Ireton, in answer to similar offers made to him, as follows:

"Sir,

"I received your letter with indignation, and return you this answer, that I cannot but wonder whence you could gather any hopes from me, that I should, like you, prove treacherous to my sovereign, since you cannot but be sensible of my former actings in his late Majesty's service, from which principles of loyalty, I am no wit departed. I scorn your proffers, disdain your favor, and abhor your treason, and am so far from delivering up this island to your advantage, that I will keep it to the utmost of my power and your destruction, take this final answer, and forbear any further solicitation: but if you trouble me with any more messages, I will burn the paper, and hang the bearer."

* Lord Derby returns a second time to England, Anno 1651.

When Birch, who had charge of his family, heard of Lord Derby's arrival, he hurried them off to Chester, fearing, as it is said, that noble lord would knock at his door to inquire for them. The king had marched through Lancashire before the earl's arrival, which hastened his Lordship's departure to Warrington, where Major-General Massey waited to receive him, and that very night brought in many of the Presbyterian party to his Lordship, who, addressing himself to them, said, "that he was come from the Isle of Man, to do His Majesty all the service in his power; that the king had given him a previous assurance, that all those gentlemen of that persuasion (Presbyterians) would be ready to join him, and that he was ready to receive whoever pleased to come to him, and to march directly to join the royal army."

To this, one of their ministers replied, "that he hoped, and so did all those who were with him, that his Lordship would put away all the Papists he had brought from the island, and that he would himself take the covenant, and then they would all join him."

Lord Derby expressed his astonishment at this unexpected requisition, and begged to know, if what the speaker had repeated, were the senti-

ments of the whole party; which they unanimously declared they were, and without his compliance, they could, on no consideration, co-operate with him. To which his Lordship rejoined, that on these terms,* he might long since have been restored to his whole estate, and the blessed martyr, Charles I. to his kingdom; that he came not now to dispute, but to fight, for His Majesty's restoration; and would, on the issue of the first battle, submit himself to the king's direction in that point; that he would refuse none of any persuasion whatsoever, that came in cheerfully to serve the king, and hoped they would give him the same freedom; for that he was well assured, all those gentlemen he brought with him, were sincere and honest friends to the royal cause.

It was in vain that General Massey seconded the earl's arguments, and made use of the strongest exhortations to persuade them to lay aside all animosities; the whole party insisted peremptorily in their demands, so that, perceiving all further reasoning useless, the earl only added, "Gentlemen, if you will be persuaded to join

* Taking the covenant.

me, I make no doubt, in a few days, to raise as good an army to follow the king, as that he has now with him; and, by God's blessing, to shake off the yoke of bondage, resting both on you and us—if not, I cannot hope to effect much, I may, perhaps, have men enough at my command, but all the arms are in your possession, without which, I shall only lead naked men to the slaughter: however, I am determined to do what I can with the handful of gentlemen now with me for His Majesty's service, and if I perish, I perish; but if my master suffer, the blood of another prince, and all the ensuing miseries, will be at your doors."

This remonstrance having no effect, his Lordship sent out warrants for all persons willing to serve the king, to repair to him forthwith at Preston, where many came to him from all parts; but before he could possibly raise and accoutre a sufficient number, Colonel Lilburn, with one thousand eight hundred dragoons, and the fort militia of Lancashire and Chester, marched directly against Lord Derby, who, having at that time about six hundred horse, and trusting to the goodness of his cause, and the courage of his companions, he resolved to engage with that small force, the great body of the enemy; and

accordingly gave orders to march for Wigan, choosing that town, on account of its faith and loyalty, as the best post to await the enemy; but, unhappily, Lilburn, by forced marches, had anticipated him, and before his Lordship could reach his destination, had lined the hedges in the approach to the town with his infantry, and greatly annoyed the advancing party. The earl, however, kept on his way in good order, and having divided his horse into two parties, he gave the command of the rear to Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and took the van himself: twice his Lordship and all his party made their way clear through the large body of the enemy, but attempting it a third time, and being oppressed and environed by unequal numbers, the Lord Witherington, Sir Thomas Tyldesley,* and many other brave gentlemen slain, the whole were completely overcome. Lord Derby had two horses killed under him; being remounted both times by a faithful servant, a Frenchman, who at last lost his life by his master's side in the third charge.

* There is at this time a monument in Wigan Lane, in commemoration of the heroes who fell in this action.

Upon the fall of Lord Witherington, the earl mounted his horse, and, with six other gentlemen, cut their way through a party who attempted to surround them, and actually reached the town, where his Lordship threw himself from his steed at a door which stood open, and suddenly shutting it before the enemy could overtake him, the woman of the house kept it close till he was conveyed to a place of privacy, where he lay concealed for many hours, notwithstanding a most industrious search was made for him. Of the six hundred gentlemen who had accompanied him, he lost at least half, and himself received seven shots on the breast-plate, and thirteen cuts upon his beaver, which he wore over a cap of steel. He also received several slight wounds in his arms and shoulders; these he got privately dressed, and, accompanied by three servants, began his journey the same night, towards Worcester, where he arrived before the battle; and though still suffering from his hurts, attended his Majesty through the whole fight on the 3d of September, 1651.

The issue of this unfortunate engagement being so decidedly fatal to the royal party, Lord Derby conducted the king to the house of a friend, where he had been kindly treated on his

way to Worcester, and having there disposed of his Majesty in safety, he prepared for his return to Lancashire, being accompanied by the Earl of Lauderdale, and about forty more, who, taking their march through bye-ways, had the misfortune to fall in with a regiment of foot and a troop of horse, commanded by Major Edge; and after a very short contest, the earl and his companions made themselves known, and demanded quarter, which was granted with a promise of honorable usage on their submission; but no sooner had this valiant nobleman fallen into their hands, than measures were taken to revenge the contempt he had ever shewn for the rebels, by bringing him to trial and death.

During the preparations for this iniquitous business, his Lordship wrote the following letter to the Countess, then in the Isle of Man with three of her children, the others being still detained in Cheshire.*

"My dear Heart,

"It hath been my misfortune since I left you, not to have one line of comfort from you, which

* Taken after the battle of Worcester, Sept. 5, Anno 1651.

hath been most afflictive to me; and this, and what I now farther write you, must be a mass of many things in one."

He then goes on to detail the particulars of the engagements, and his captivity, and adds,

"I thought myself happy in being sent prisoner to Chester, where I might have the comfort of seeing my two daughters, and to find means of sending to you; but I fear my coming here may cost me dear, unless Almighty God, in whom I trust, will please to help me in some other way; but whatsoever come of me, I have peace in my own breast, and no discontent at all, but the afflictive sense I have of your grief, and that of my poor children.

"Colonel Duckinfield, governor of this town, is going, according to his orders from the parliament General, to the Isle of Man, where he will make known unto you his business: I have considered your condition and my own, and thereupon give you this advice, take it not as from a prisoner, for if I am never so close confined, my heart is my own, free, still as the best, and I scorn to be compelled to your prejudice, though by the severest tortures. I have procured Baggarley, who is prisoner in this town, to

come over to you with my letter; I have told him my reasons, and he will tell you them; they may save the spilling of blood in that island, and it may be of use to some here dear to you: but of that take no care, neither treat at all, for I perceive it will do you more hurt than good.

"Have a care, my dear soul, of yourself and my dear children; as for those here, I will give them the best advice I can, it is not with us as heretofore. My son with his spouse, and my nephew Stanley, have come to see me, of them all, I will say nothing at this time, except that my son shews great affection, and is gone to London with exceeding concern and passion for my good; he is much changed for the better, I thank God, and would have been a greater comfort to me if I could have left him more, or if he had provided better for himself.* The discourse I have had here of the Isle of Man, has produced the enclosed, or, at least, such desires of mine, as

* This slight appearance of discontent, with Lord Strange's former proceedings, which appears from these few words, to have influenced the mind of his father, originated, in all probability, in the marriage he had contracted with the Lady Helena Rupa, a German of honorable family, but no fortune, whose subsequent prudence and good conduct nevertheless justified his choice.

I hope 'Baggarley' will deliver to you upon oath, to be mine; and, truly, as matters go, it will be the best for you to make conditions for yourself, children, and friends, in the manner as proposed, or as you can further agree with Col. Duckinfield, who, being so much a gentleman born, will doubtless, for his own honor, deal fairly with you.

"You know how much that place is my darling, but, since it is God's will to dispose, in the manner it is, of this nation, and Ireland too, there is nothing further to be said of the Isle of Man, but to refer all to the will of God; and so, trusting to his assistance and goodness, begin the world again, though near to winter."

The judges being appointed, and court formed, for the trial of the earl at Chester, he appeared before them unsupported by council or assistance, and contended strenuously, that, having yielded upon assurance of quarter, his present trial was contrary to the usage of nations, and the rules of war; but these objections were over-ruled, and his offences being summed up, he was declared to be guilty of treason, forasmuch as he had borne arms for Charles Stewart against the parliament, and that he now held the Isle of Man in defiance of them; and they instantly proceeded

to pass sentence of death upon him, allowing only the short interval of four days between that and execution, which was intended to prevent his appeal to parliament. However, Lord Strange having previously ordered relays of horses, rode post to London in one day and night, and got his petition read in the Junta, by Lenthal, the speaker, the only man who would either receive or read it; and it is even probable it might have produced a mitigation of the sentence, had it not been for the manœuvres of Cromwell and Bradshaw, who, perceiving the turn things were taking when the speaker rose to put the question, themselves, with eight or nine of their adherents, quitted the house, so that the number left being under forty, no decision could be made; and Lord Strange finding all other efforts fruitless to save the life of his father, returned with incredible speed before the hour of execution.

The earl received this confirmation of the fatal sentence with fortitude, and calling those who he wished should witness his death, he prepared for the scaffold, having written his last letter to his lady and children, and given further directions to Mr. Baggarley, who had orders to proceed without delay to the island. He was then conducted to Bolton, the place appointed for the

concluding scene of his mortal existence, and there surrounded by a weeping multitude, his head was severed from his body,* and next day the corpse being carried to Ormskirk was deposited with his ancestors.†

In the epistle he left for the Countess, besides much affectionate regret for her sufferings, and advice as to her future conduct, he repeated his former counsel respecting the Isle of Man, remarking that whatever she might do for the present, it would be grievous and unavailing to resist the parliament forces, seeing that they had at that time the command of three nations.

It may truly be said, that with this nobleman the sun of the house of Stanley went down in clouds and darkness: he had married early in life to the most noble Charlotte, daughter of Claude, Duke of Tremouille and Trevors, by whom he had issue three sons, Charles, Baron Strange, who succeeded him, Edward and William, both of whom died young; also three daughters, Henrietta Maria, married to William, the great and unfortunate Earl of Stafford, and

* For the particulars of this lamentable sacrifice, see appendix A.; as also for the whole of the letter to the Countess, and instructions to his son, Appendix B.

† Lord Derby, beheaded at Bolton, October 16, 1651.

died without issue, as did likewise the second daughter, Catherine, who married Henry, Marquis of Dorchester; Amelia, the youngest, was united to John, Earl of Athol, through whom the lordship of Man devolved to the Athol family.

The deplorable fate of the Earl was so far from being considered as a sufficient atonement for his offences against the reigning powers, that they vigorously prosecuted their designs against the Isle of Man; being resolved to deprive his unhappy family of their last asylum. "Duckinfield" and "Birch" were immediately despatched with ten ships and a considerable military force, to whom the island was surrendered without further contest; though, as it is said, contrary to the inclinations and intentions of the widowed Countess, and even without proper stipulations in her favour. The historian of the house of Stanley, as well as several contemporary writers, charge Captain Christian with treason, in yielding up his trust. Seacombe's account of the matter, in which he is copied by Sacheverel in his history of the island, is, "that the two generals corrupted "Christian," to whom the Earl had solely entrusted the protection of his family and the command of the militia; that he in consequence suffered them to land without opposition,

and then treacherously seized upon his lady and her children, with the governors of both castles, in the middle of the night. The next morning, the same traitor having prepared his countrymen to co-operate with him, brought his prisoners to "Duckinfield" and "Birch," who told the Countess that Christian had surrendered the island upon articles."

By way of heightening the imputation of treason, it is further said, that this man was indebted to the late Earl for his whole fortune, having been brought up by him from a child, and enriched solely by his interest and patronage. The contradictions in this whole relation are manifest; by the Earl's own account, he only became acquainted with Christian at a very late date, and after that officer had realized a large fortune in the East Indies. Neither is it very likely that Lord Derby had latterly placed any particular confidence in him, since he had previously discovered many defects in his character and conduct. It seems to me, therefore, that though he might entertain some enmity against the noble family, he could not justly be charged with treachery; and though "Christian" afterwards lost his life on this plea, yet, as it appears, there is every reason to believe that the surrender of the island was made with the connivance of the Countess,

and in obedience to the last will and directions of the deceased Earl; who in two several letters recommends this step in the strongest terms, besides referring to a verbal message on the same subject, which he directs his chaplain, "Baggarley," to deliver upon oath.

I conceive therefore the only fault justly chargeable on Christian, must have been that of precipitating what could not be avoided, or perhaps neglecting to secure such favourable conditions for the Countess, as he might have done. Though from the treatment the Earl had undergone, it is not likely any great trust could have been reposed in the engagements of those who had the full power to enforce the submission of this island, without binding themselves to any articles; and though the difficult situation in which the Earl stood, previous to his last return to England, might have induced him to continue Christian in the command of the native troops. Yet is it much more probable, that his confidence was engrossed by his own friends, whom he left with Lord Derby, particularly the two Governors, who were brothers of the name of Armstrong.

Lady Derby, on being acquainted with the capitulation, expressed a wish to retire to Peel Castle, from whence she probably thought it

would be easier to effect a removal to France or Holland; but this was peremptorily refused; and she was very strictly guarded in Castle Rushen, where she continued a prisoner till the restoration.

Meanwhile the parliament bestowed the island on Lord Fairfax,* who from his characteristic generosity, would unquestionably do all in his power to ameliorate the distress of his illustrious captive. He appointed a gentleman of the name of Challomer as his deputy; and the change seems to have taken place without exciting any extraordinary sensation in the natives, who probably so long as they were governed by their old laws were very little concerned to know by whom those laws were administered. The character of the Manx in the course of two hundred years had, as we have before observed, been completely altered! They were no longer a warlike or chivalric people, who could be stimulated to exertion for the relief of a distressed lady; and her merits or her afflictions, appear to have been passed over with perfect indifference.

By the vestiges still extant of an encampment made at that period, I conclude the forces under

* The island granted to Lord Fairfax, Anno 1652.

the rebel generals must have remained some considerable time in the island; but there is no record of a single alteration in the existing laws or customs in consequence of the transfer. Mr. Challomer, the new governor, who was a man of talents and learning, amused his leisure hours in writing a short history of the country, which I have seen in manuscript; but it affords little either to interest or inform: nor was the possession of Lord Fairfax of sufficient length to afford time for the display of his legislative abilities. He held the power only from the year 1652 till 1661 or 2, when the King of England being restored, Charles, Lord Derby, was reinstated in his rights in the isle; which was almost the only act of justice he obtained from his sovereign; who, notwithstanding the eminent services of his father, and his deplorable end, dying as he did a martyr to royalty, peremptorily refused the sign manual to an act *unanimously* voted in both Houses of Parliament, for restoring the sequestered estates of the Derby family.*

This excessive ingratitude, and the failure of her last hope for the re-establishment of her chil-

* The truth of this relation has been denied by Mr. Pennant and others, but I have followed the historian of the house of Stanley, who asserts the fact.

dren in their just rights, had such an effect on the spirits of the Countess, who had hitherto borne the reverses of fortune with unexampled constancy, that she entirely sunk under it, and shortly afterwards died, as was generally believed from disease brought on by this aggravated mortification.

Of the Earl Charles little has ever been said, during the period in which he might have distinguished himself, when his father was contending for his king and country, or exerting himself for the protection of his own possessions, Lord Strange seems to have remained in a state of inaction; and one cannot but observe that in all Lord Derby's discourses and letters, there is no reference to his eldest son as the natural protector of his family. He gives him, indeed, certain abstract rules and maxims for his own conduct; but on no occasion does he present to his lady in her distress the consoling hope of her son's duty and affection; nor does he even recommend to him the care of his younger children: but as in these sad times, the quiet of families was disturbed by the same circumstances which destroyed the peace of nations, it is very possible (though from the prudent reserve of the parties, it does not appear) that some political

questions had interrupted the domestic harmony of these persons, more especially, as we find that Lord Strange was at liberty, when even the daughters of the Earl were subjected to close imprisonment.

In one case, however, the Earl Charles seems to have been actuated by a desire to avenge the injuries of his mother; and that was evinced in the severe prosecution he caused to be set on foot against William Christian, on account of his capitulation with the rebels. No sooner was Lord Derby reinstated in power, than this man was brought to trial on a charge of treason against his liege lady and her children; and that he had given them up to the hands of their enemies contrary to his duty and allegiance.

This cause was tried before the usual court of the island, consisting of the deemsters, council, and keys. On the first hearing Christian pleaded the king's act of general pardon, in bar of all proceedings. The majority of the court denied the efficacy of this act, which they contended could not extend to the Isle of Man, that having so often been declared to be an independent sovereignty, and as being at any rate of no effect in acts of treason, charged to be committed against the person or family of the natural lord or lady of the island.

On this occasion, one of the deemsters, named Edward Christian, (probably a relation of the culprit,) dissenting from the rest of the court, made proclamation against the whole proceedings, and withdrew himself first from the seat of judgment, and afterwards made his way to England, where he represented the affair as it was in agitation. Meanwhile, another deemster being hastily appointed, they came to a prompt decision, by which sentence was passed on the delinquent, who in vain claimed his right of appeal to the King in council; and though through the deemster who had fled, such representations had been made, as obtained a royal order for suspending his sentence, which was transmitted to the Lieutenant Governor Nowell; yet under pretence that this order did not arrive in time, the unhappy man was carried to the place of execution, and there shot; after which his large estates and property were confiscated to the service of the Lord.

However deficient in public spirit, or submissive to the will of their superiors the Manx might be at that time, it was not likely that such proceedings should pass unnoticed. Accordingly we find in the year 1663, that a son of this William Christian petitioned the king for redress; upon

which petition an order was made to bring the persons composing this *pretended court* of justice, as it is *there* termed, to answer for their conduct before his Majesty: when it was satisfactorily proved that William Christian had been illegally put to death for treason pretended to have been committed against the Countess of Derby, in defiance of the act of indemnity, of which he had claimed the benefit, and also of his appeal to his Majesty.

Whereupon the King, with advice of his council was graciously pleased to order that Thomas Norris and Hugh Cannel, the two deemsters who had decreed this violent sentence, should be imprisoned in the King's Bench, to be thence after proceeded against, and receive condign punishment, for so heinous an act; and the other parties were bound in a penalty to see full satisfaction and restitution made of all costs and charges incurred in prosecution of this appeal; and further the sentence of confiscation was completely reversed and set aside, and the estates and property of the said William Christian were ordered to be restored to his son and heir, with full compensation for all damages. And moreover it was peremptorily ordered by the King in council, that Edward Christian, the deemster,

who had withdrawn himself to avoid being made a party in their illegal proceedings, should be reinstated in his office; and that the Earl of Derby should have notice forthwith to restore and appoint the said Edward Christian one of the judges of the said isle, so to remain and continue in the full execution of his office.

And lastly, Henry Nowell the governor received a severe reprimand for concealing or disregarding the order of his majesty, respecting the suspension of the sentence against William Christian. Whether any or what sentence was passed against the deemsters, besides imprisonment, I have not been able to discover.

The course adopted on this occasion seems to contradict the opinion of Lord Coke and other writers of equal authority, who have declared that the Lord of Man has full power of life and death in his principality. The pardon pleaded by Christian was granted by the king and parliament of England, for all acts of rebellion against the royal authority, in Great Britain or its dependencies: but the crime charged against Christian was treason committed against his liege lady and family: and if no other plea could be set up on his part, I cannot comprehend how an indemnity given to offenders

against one sovereign, could be pleaded in bar of punishment for specific acts of aggression against another.

Nor is the lofty order to the Earl of Derby to reinstate deemster Christian in the office he had voluntarily resigned, at all consistent with the independent and unquestionable rights of that nobleman, to appoint or displace his own officers. As to the charge against William Christian, I am of opinion nothing could be more unfounded, and that his sentence was a manifest injustice, as it appears from the letters of the deceased earl, as I have before observed, that the surrender of the island was decided on by him; even before the generals came against it, as an untenable post; but in all probability this man fell a victim simply to an expiring party spirit.

There are several popular Manx ballads yet extant on this subject, in all of which this turn is given to the affair, and the natives yet recite the tragical fate of a whole family of the name of Colcott, who were particularly active against Christian, both in procuring his condemnation, and suppressing the reprieve; and whose subsequent misfortunes they ascribe to the judgments of heaven, inflicted on them for this cause.

During the whole life of Earl Charles, he was involved in the difficulties of narrow circumstances, aggravated by the ingratitude of the English court, but for which, he might have recovered a very considerable part of his possessions; and of those estates which remained, the mansions and buildings were in a ruinous condition, and the tenantry impoverished by the impositions they had suffered. Nevertheless, by observing a very strict economy, and by some judicious sales and purchases, he succeeded in laying a foundation, which eventually restored, in some degree, the wealth of the family.

On his death, in 1672*, he was succeeded by his son William, who was more remarkable for excellent sense and great generosity, than for prudence, in the management of his property. He was utterly averse to all employments at court, being much and naturally disgusted at the injury his family had sustained in the civil wars, and the abominable ingratitude of Charles II.; nor was the recollection of this likely to be eradicated from his mind, for as he observed on one occasion to his house-steward, that he pos-

* Death of Earl Charles and succession of his son William, Anno 1672.

sessed no estate in any county of England or Wales, but that, whenever he viewed any of them, he could see another of equal or greater value, lost by his grandfather, for his loyalty to the crown.

It does not appear that Earl William took much interest in his Manx domain, though he conferred one benefit on the country, which to this day must command the gratitude of the people; and that was in the appointment of the great and good Dr. Wilson to the bishopric: this worthy man was preceptor to Lord Strange, who, in the year 1700, died at Venice; but as many particulars respecting the Earl are intermingled with the history of the bishop, I shall pass to the succession of James, who, in 1703*, on the death of his brother William without issue, inherited the title and estates, as well as the lordship of Man; which, at his accession, was once more in a state nearly approaching to destruction. By this time the leases granted (as I have already related in the history of the seventh earl) for three lives had nearly expired, and as no provision had been made relative to

* Death of William, and succession of his brother James, Anno 1703.

their renewal, the neglect of agriculture had become so general, that repeated seasons of scarcity, almost approaching to famine, had occurred. The people being wholly given up to the fishery, or the pursuit of a contraband trade, and depending entirely on the opposite coasts for a supply of corn necessary for their sustenance, Bishop Wilson was the first who had courage to point out to the Earl of Derby, how entirely this injurious system had originated in the lords of the island themselves; and this he did with so powerful an effect, that being seconded by a firm and respectful remonstrance from the keys, it produced entire conviction in the mind of his lordship: in consequence of which, he granted to his dependants that Act of Settlement, which is justly considered as the Manx Magna Charter, as by it, the possessors were finally established in their lands, and the descent arranged in perpetuity, on the payment of certain fixed fines, rents, and duties to the lord*.

From this auspicious period, the progress of improvement has been decided, though its first advances were somewhat impeded by the pre-

* Act of Settlement, Anno 1707.

valence of the smuggling trade and other adventitious circumstances, only conquerable by time. James, the ninth Earl of Derby, dying without children in 1736*, the lordship of Man devolved on James Murray, first Duke of Athol, son and heir of John, Marquis of Athol, by the Lady Amelia Sophia, daughter of James, seventh Earl of Derby: whilst the earldom passed in the male line to Sir Edward Stanley, descended from Thomas, the first earl.

Soon after the accession of the Duke of Athol, the British government finding all other means employed to check the illicit trade were entirely ineffectual, made overtures to purchase his right and revest it in the crown of Great Britain. But as the duke expressed great reluctance to comply with this proposition, the affair was suffered to stand over, on his promise to impose such restraints on the people, as should protect the revenue from further injury; but whether the duke wanted the power, or the inclination to produce this reform, it is certain none such took place during his life, and in fact, matters were carried to such a pitch that a cotemporary writer declared, "that the Isle of Man could be

* Death of Earl James, Anno 1736; at which time the island passed into the Athol family.

considered in no other light, than as a fortress in the hands of our enemies, which it had become imperiously necessary to retake into our own." In 1764* the first Duke of Athol died, leaving only one daughter, Charlotte Baroness Strange; who was united in marriage to her cousin, the male heir to the dukedom, and who now, in right of his wife, became possessed also of the Isle of Man; and scarcely was he settled in the property, when the question of the revestment being again brought forward, he received the following letter from the Lords of the Treasury.

"My Lord,

"We think proper to inform your Grace, that in pursuance of the powers vested in us by the 12th of George I. we are willing to treat with you for the purchase of the Isle of Man, or for such part of the rights claimed by your Grace in the said island, as shall be found expedient to vest in the crown, for preventing the pernicious and illicit trade which is at present carried on between that island and other parts of his Majesty's dominions, in violation of the

* Death of the first duke, Anno 1764; from whom the island descended to his daughter, and by marriage with her cousin, to the second duke of Athol.

laws, and to the great diminution and detriment of the revenues of this kingdom," &c.

The letter then goes on to specify their powers to make this agreement, and concludes with these words:

"But if your Grace is not inclined to enter into treaty with us upon the subject, we beg to be informed of it, that we may pursue such other methods as we shall think our duty to the public requires of us."

This letter bears date July 25th, 1764, to which the duke gave answer on the 20th August, as follows:

"My Lords,

"I have received the honour of your letter, &c. and am sorry to hear there has been so many complaints of smuggling from the Isle of Man, which is a practice I give no manner of encouragement to; my revenues arising from a fair duty collected upon the importation of goods.

" I have the same idea with regard to the sale of the island as the late duke had, who always declared that no temptation of gain should induce him to give up so ancient, so honourable, and so noble a birthright, such as no subject of the crown of England now has, or ever had, which has been in our family for near four centuries; and that he thought nothing could be an equivalent to one of his rank and circumstances for so great a patrimony; at the same time his duty and attachment to the king were such, that if it was esteemed upon a full consideration an important point for his majesty's service, and for the good of the public, he in that event was willing to enter into treaty for the disposal of it, and these are the only reasons that can induce me to do the same.

" The purchase of the Isle of Man has been frequently thought of by former administrations, but upon balancing the advantages and disadvantages which might arise to government, they did not think proper to treat conclusively upon it.

" I have been but a few months in possession of the Isle of Man, and never in the least turned my thoughts towards a sale of it; it is impossible for me, uninformed as I am, to fix upon what I

should think an adequate price for a possession so very considerable, both for honor and profit. I can therefore at present have no proposal to make, but will always be ready to receive with respect, any proposal which shall come from your lordships," &c. &c. &c.

To which a further answer was written by the negociators, still requiring that the compensation should be pointed out by his grace, and concluding with the former threat, that if such proposal was not made, parliament would take the power into their own hands; and in consequence, in January, 1765, a bill was brought into the house of commons for more effectually preventing the mischiefs to the revenue and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, from the clandestine and illicit trade to and from the Isle of Man.

A petition was presented against this bill by the Duke and Duchess of Athol, and council heard upon it: and it being conceived that they had made some impression upon the house, a new intimation was received by the duke, that possibly a treaty might still be entered into, for the purchase of his chartered rights; but as the bill was still proceeded in, and even had gone

so far, as on the 29th of February to be committed for the next day; he apprehended, with every reason, that the design was to strip his family of these valuable rights, without making them any compensation at all: he was therefore induced, in concurrence with the duchess, to join in a direct proposal, by which they offered (though with every expression of reluctance at the sacrifice imposed on them) to resign their sovereign rights in the Isle of Man, for the sum of £70,000. In consequence of this letter an agreement was prepared and signed by the parties, at the same time that the duke expressed his concern at the compulsion which had obliged him to resign his power, in which the duchess participated with equal feeling; nor was this sensation confined to those noble persons, all ranks in the island were agitated by fears, that their ruin must be the inevitable consequences of this revestment in the British government: and such was the general impression, that numbers prepared to quit the country: but as this change opens a new era in the history of Man, I shall, previous to pursuing it, return to give some account of the bishops who had held the see, under the government of the house of Stanley. As the character of the last

possessors of the bishopric had a considerable influence in forming that of the people, under their charge, and as many and essential benefits were derived from these divines, which are still felt and acknowledged in the island.

CHAP. VII.

Bishops occupying the See from the Accession of the House of Stanley to the present Time; with a particular Account of the Life of Bishop Wilson, and the various Improvements effected by him during his Episcopacy.

NOT to detain my readers with an uninteresting legend of names and dates, I shall give the succession of the bishops in as few words as possible.

The first diocesan appointed by the house of Stanley was,

Evan or Huan . . *Date unknown.*
Hugh Hesketh . . *Died* 1490*.

* Hugh Hesketh, Anno 1490.

Robert Ferrier . . 1554*.
Bishop Salisbury . *Date unknown.*
Thomas Stanley . . 1573†.
John Meyrick . . 1577‡; this is the bishop mentioned by Camden, from whom he procured his account of the island, published in the Britannia.
George Loyd . . 1600‖, translated to Chester.
Bishop Forster . . 1605§.
John Phillips . . . 1635¶; he translated the Bible and Common Prayer into Manx, though of the former no copy is extant: he was eminent for goodness and charity, and a very celebrated preacher in his day.

Dr. Richard Parr was inducted 1637**, and sat during the civil wars: it was during his residence that many oppressive ordinances and practices of the clergy were reformed in consequence of a great resistance of the people, and by the interference of James, Earl of Derby. See page 94.

* Robert Ferrier, Anno 1554.
† Thomas Stanley, Anno 1573.
‡ John Merrick, Anno 1577.
‖ George Loyd, Anno 1600.
§ —— Forster, Anno 1605.
¶ John Phillips, Anno 1635.
** Richard Parr, Anno 1637.

Samuel Rutter was a long time archdeacon, and also tutor to Charles Lord Strange. He was the friend and companion of the great Earl of Derby, who, on many occasions, expressed his high sense of his worth, particularly in his letters to his son, in which he recommends Mr. Rutter as a sure guide, and most valuable adviser. He only sat as Bishop two years, from 1661 to 1663,* when he died, and was succeeded by

Dr. Isaac Barrow. To this respectable divine, the Manx are indebted for the first gleam of learning, that irradiated the long darkness which had overshadowed the island. He founded parochial schools; he also made a collection in England, with which he purchased the impropriations, and added to them two valuable estates of his own gift, towards the establishment of a free-school, for the education of young men intended for the ministry. He also obtained for the poor clergy, a share of the royal bounty, and though he only sat two years, he crowded into that short space, an almost incredible number of benefits, which are still felt throughout the

* Samuel Rutter, Anno 1663.

island. He was then promoted to the see of St. Asaph, and

Dr. Henry Bridgeman, Dean of Chester, occupied his place to 1671;* after whom,

Dr. John Lake, who was also, at an early period, translated to Chester, and was one of the seven bishops imprisoned for a libel against James II. After him, followed

Dr. Baptist Levinge, an amiable and worthy prelate, who died 1693,† and the see remained vacant five years, when, to the inexpressible benefit of the inhabitants of Man,

Dr. Thomas Wilson was promoted to the government of the church; but, as the life of this bishop is intimately connected with the state of the island and its history during a period of sixty years, in which all the energy of his capacious mind, and all the virtues of his excellent heart, were devoted to benefit, and improve his charge, I cannot pass him over, as I have done others, with a brief notice, believing no particulars of a life so exemplary, can be uninteresting to my readers. I shall, therefore, make a large extract from the history of this apostolic divine, as it was

* Isaac Barrow, Anno 1671.

† Baptist Levinge, Anno 1693.

published, under the authority of his son, in 1787.

"Dr. Thomas Wilson was born at Burton, in Cheshire, September 20, 1663, and, as he himself says, in his diary, of honest parents, fearing God. After a preparatory education in his own country, he was sent to Trinity College, Dublin. His first design on entering at the University was, to devote himself to the study of physic, in which he made some progress; and even after having yielded to the advice of his friend, Archdeacon Hewetson, to dedicate his services to the church, he still continued to pursue, at intervals, the study he had originally set out with, which afterwards proved of essential service to the people of his diocese; and, what was of the utmost importance to Mr. Wilson himself, greatly extended his sphere of usefulness.

"He continued at College till the year 1689, when he was ordained deacon; of which event, he, ever after, kept the anniversary, as a season of particular devotion. The exact time of his leaving Dublin is not known; but soon after his return to England, he was licensed curate of New Church, in the parish of Winwick, Lancashire, of which his maternal uncle, Dr. Sherlock, was rector; and here, out of a stipend of £30. per annum, he devoted one-tenth to charitable

uses. On the 20th of October, 1690, he was ordained priest, on which occasion, he formed certain solemn resolutions, from which he never swerved throughout the course of his life.

" The first, that no temptation should induce him to occupy two livings at one time.

" 2d. That whenever he should obtain a cure of souls, he would, on no account, dispense with constant residence on the scene of his duty.

" 3d. Never to give a bond of resignation, or to make any contract or promise, merely to obtain church preferment.

" It was not long before his religious deportment and amiable manners in private life, recommended him to the notice of the Earl of Derby, who, in 1692, appointed him his domestic chaplain and tutor to Lord Strange, with a salary of £30. per annum, to which was soon after added £20. more, for the superintendance of the alms-houses at Latham; on which occasion, he increased the sum set apart for the use of the poor, from one-tenth to one-fifth of his income.

" The manner in which he made this dedication is worthy of record; on the receipt of all monies, he regularly placed the portion designed for charitable uses, into the drawer of a cabinet, with a note of the value to be kept sacred for the poor; and in this sacred repository, first a

tenth, then a fifth, then a third, and, at last, one half, of his revenues were placed; and whenever he deposited the poor man's portion, it was with the same reverence as if it had been an offering to heaven.

"Mr. Wilson's resolutions, as before stated, being entered into, from a conviction of their propriety, were ever after considered as matter of religious obligation, from which no motive could induce him to depart; as he fully proved, when, soon after Lord Derby offered him the valuable living of Baddesworth, in Yorkshire, his Lordship intending that he should still continue with him as chaplain and tutor to his son; but he refused to accept it, being inconsistent with his resolves against non-residence.

"The same regard to the dictates of conscience influenced his whole behaviour, and it was not long before he gave his noble patron a proof that no selfish motives could deter him from pursuing the path of duty, or restrain his zeal in a good cause. In consequence of an extravagant expenditure, and great inattention to his affairs, Lord Derby had become deeply involved, and the tradesmen about his estates were many of them most seriously injured by the state of his accounts. Mr. Wilson beholding with equal concern the ruin of his patron's property, and

the distress of his dependents, determined to hazard a respectful remonstrance, which, however, he was fully sensible was a step replete with danger to his hopes of preferment; yet, being unable to dispense with what he considered to be his duty, he waited on his Lordship in his dressing-room, and, after a short conversation, left with him a letter, which is remarkable for the simplicity, good sense, and integrity, it pourtrays.* The result of this unusual proceeding was equally honorable to the noble patron, and his upright dependant. The earl, convinced of his chaplain's probity, was aroused to a serious investigation of his affairs, in the arrangement of which, he received his most willing assistance, and by the measures thenceforward adopted, Mr. Wilson was made the happy instrument by which the reputation and property of his patron was retrieved, and many of his tradesmen, by this timely arrangement, saved from bankruptcy.

Nor did his zeal and integrity miss of their reward; for, in the ensuing year, the earl offered him the bishopric of the Isle of Man, which had been vacant since the death of Dr. Levinge in the year 1693.

"This offer, however, Mr. Wilson at first de-

* See Appendix, 2.

clined, believing the charge too great for his talents and strength, and thus the matter rested, till complaint being made to King William, that an incumbent had long been wanting for this diocese; and, in consequence, Lord Derby fearing the patronage would lapse to the crown, if an immediate nomination did not take place, he insisted on his chaplain accepting the preferment; and thus Mr. Wilson was, to use his own expression, *forced into the bishopric.** But however modest might be his estimate of his own abilities, it is certain, the history of human nature hardly presents an example where intellectual worth has been carried higher, or accompanied more completely, by the most admirable christian virtues. The rules laid down for his self-government at his outset in life, were maintained with undeviating strictness; his considerations were not directed to what would make his sojournment on earth pleasant, but to what would render his transition to heaven certain; and to this great end, all his labors for his own conduct, or the benefit of his fellow-creatures were made to conduce.

"To comprehend the nature of the sacrifice he

* Appointed Bishop of Sodor and Man, Anno 1698.

made, when he became bishop of Man, one must take into consideration, the state of the country to which he was *banished*, and contrast it with the society he renounced. On the one hand, he beheld a people depressed, and almost brutalized by poverty and neglect, with whose language he was unacquainted, and who were prepared to receive him with dislike and suspicion; and for this hopeless association, he had been compelled to resign the ease, elegance, and distinction, of a nobleman's mansion, where, from the lord to the lowest servant, all regarded him with respect and affection. Happily for Dr. Wilson, the first few years of his residence in the Isle of Man were cheered by the society of a woman, who seems to have been formed on the same model with himself, and to have participated in all his laborious acts of charity with equal interest and readiness. The difficulty respecting the language was of no long existence, he was soon able to deliver his paternal exhortations in their own tongue, and by convincing his flock how much their real good was his sole object, he secured the affection and respect of the whole body, with the exception only of a very few whom interest or jealousy taught to oppose him.

"When he first took possession of the see, he found the residence appropriated to him in ruins,

the churches throughout the diocese in a falling state, the clergy sunk in ignorance and vice, the people not merely untaught and rustic, but greatly debased by the illicit trade, then almost their sole pursuit, and which naturally led to a commerce with the worst characters of the adjacent countries; whilst the most extreme ignorance of religion, or even morality, pervaded all classes, or rather, the one great class; for, with the exception of the officers sent over by Lord Derby, to occupy the posts of government, the residue of the population were alike subject to the sudden influx of abundance, or as sudden depression of poverty.

"The only sources of circulation were derived from fishing or smuggling, and the money thus acquired was almost invariably spent in intoxication, or vulgar dissipation, under the idea, that the same channels of gain were still open to them. It was to correct these fundamental errors, that Bishop Wilson strove to divert their attention to agricultural pursuits; and, as a first and most material step, in concert with the keys, he prevailed on Earl James, in the first year of his succession, to grant the act of settlement already mentioned. Whilst this question was under consideration, the bishop also occupied himself in restoring the dilapidated state of the reve-

nues of the see, and rebuilding his house at Kirkmichael, as well as in repairing the churches, and renewing the discipline of the parochial schools. From the beginning he exacted his tithes, not with severity, but certainly with sufficient strictness; and this unquestionably from a conscientious design to protect the dues of the church, and not to suffer that, which should be set apart for sacred purposes, to be diverted into other channels.

"His house he enlarged, and rendered capable of receiving several young men, whom he educated under his own eye, and by his example, in order to have a succession of clergy, who might walk in the way he set before them; and thus he laid a solid foundation for the extension of knowledge, and practice of piety, in the next generation. In repairing the parish-churches, he always set the example of a large subscription from his own purse, and exerted his influence where he knew there was ability in others, so as to obtain his end without exactions from the necessitous; nor were his exertions confined to these public acts: by frequent visits, he acquired a patriarchal influence in nearly every family in his diocese, and acquainted himself with the character and circumstances of each individual, to whom he administered aid, council, or reproof,

as the case demanded; and so tempered his wisdom or severity with kindness and condescension, that he was soon regarded as a ministering angel, and his presence believed to produce a blessing wherever he came. His charity was unwearied; at his door the indigent were sure of relief, for he scrupulously observed the Scripture precept, 'never to turn his face from any poor man,' so that it was said of him, 'he kept beggars from every house but his own.' For a long time there was no medical man in the island, and he was in the constant habit of giving advice and medicines to the sick of all ranks; but when, at length, some persons in that line established themselves there, he willingly relinquished to them the care of the wealthy, but still afforded his aid to those who had nothing but prayers and blessings to give in return.

"Soon after his accession to the bishopric, Dr. Wilson was united to Mary, the daughter of Thomas Patten, Esq. of Warrington, and in the year 1699, she accompanied him to the island. This most amiable woman was, in every respect, the companion best fitted for him, pious, humble, and charitable, as himself. By her he had four children, only one of whom (a son) arrived at maturity; the period of his connubial happiness was very short, Mrs. Wilson, at the end of

five years, fell into a languishing complaint, in which she lingered nearly twelve months, and then resigned her pure spirit to her Maker.

" This afflictive trial was borne as Bishop Wilson bore all the dispensations of Providence; situated as he was, a greater bereavement can hardly be conceived! he had lost the only one who could participate both in his pleasures and his troubles, and his loss was irremediable; but, notwithstanding his keen sense of the affliction, he knew how to bless the hand that chastised him; he felt like a man, but 'not like one without hope;' his prayers during her sickness, and on her death, are amongst the finest examples of devout resignation; and in his meditations he drew such a character of the deceased, as, while it must have aggravated his regret, was yet calculated to elevate his hopes.*

" The annual return of his episcopal revenues in money, did not exceed £300. some necessary articles, and some particular objects of charity, could only be purchased or relieved in specie; but the poor of the island were fed and clothed, and the house, in general, supplied from his domains; those who could weave and spin, found

* See Appendix, 3.

at Bishop's court, the best market for their commodities, where they bartered the produce of their industry for corn.

"Taylors and shoemakers were kept constantly at work in the house, to make into garments the cloth or leather* which his corn purchased, and these were distributed as gifts, or at low prices, according to the measure of their wants, to all who applied for them. He considered himself as the steward, not proprietor, of the revenues of his see, being resolved, from his first accession, not to heap up wealth for his children from a source, which the strictness of his religious principles led him to believe, ought not so to be appropriated.† He kept a register of all the poor in his diocese, in which he entered the names and circumstances of his pensioners, and this he called 'Matricula Pauperum.'

"During fifty-eight years of his pastoral life, he never, unless visited by sickness, omitted to perform some part of the church duty on every Sabbath day. In the year 1703, he framed those ecclesiastical constitutions, of which it was said

* The Manx then generally wore a shoe of untanned leather, laced on the foot, called *Carcens*.

† See his Address on this subject to his Children, in the Appendix, 4.

by Lord Chancellor King, that 'if the ancient discipline of the church was lost elsewhere, it might be found in all its purity in the Isle of Man.' In September, 1708, he consecrated the chapel at Douglas, to which he had been a principal contributor. In 1709, the library at Castletown was finished, derived almost wholly from the same source. In 1711, he went to London, to settle some excise business relating to the lord and people of the island, when he was greatly distinguished by Queen Anne, who offered him an English bishopric, which he declined, because, as he said, he 'felt that, with the blessing of God, he could do some good in the little spot where he then resided, whereas, should he be removed to a large sphere, he might be lost, and forget his duty to God, and to his flock.'

"His paternal care of this favoured people, appears in the various annual exhortations delivered by him to the clergy, in which it was his custom to comment upon the events of the past year, to admonish the negligent, and encourage the diligent; he insisted strenuously on the duties of visiting and catechising the uninformed, and furnished each parish with books of instruction and devotion; but, above all things, required from his clergy the most scrupulous regard

to their own character and conduct, as the only means of giving efficacy to their doctrine.

Nothing could more strongly evince his anxiety on these subjects than the prayers composed by him for the use of all the churches in his diocese, when certain persons lay under sentence of death for violations of the laws. He treated these events as national calamities, and employed his utmost exertions to render the examples thus necessarily made, of public utility to warn and awaken his whole flock. His own deep concern on these occasions must have been to the last degree impressive, and could not have failed to operate forcibly on the minds of the people.

"So also on occasions of scarcity, which frequently occurred in those times, he evermore led the sufferers to God. He taught them to endure with patience whilst the chastisement lasted, and when the trial was at an end, he joined them in such fervent thanks as created in his hearers a perpetual sense of the superintendence of providence, and rendered even want and deprivation eventual blessings.

"Those who have not lived as I have done on the scene of Bishop Wilson's apostolical exertions, who have not heard his praises after the lapse of a whole century, still the theme of every tongue, and seen the still unfaded monuments of

his benevolence, may be inclined to think these praises are exaggerated; but I may safely appea to the inhabitants of the Isle of Man, to say, whether I have not curtailed and omitted numberless instances of his piety and charity."

It is with infinite pain that I have now to change the scene, and from exhibiting the man of God in the delightful performance of his duty, followed by the praises and love of his people, and secure in the respect of all ranks, to describe him as persecuted, insulted, and even *imprisoned*. Whether his extraordinary piety, combined with his deserved popularity, had excited the jealousy of his contemporaries in office, cannot now be known; but it seems more than probable some such predisposing cause must have existed; as the alleged ground of quarrel between him and Governor Horn appears so trifling, that it is hardly possible to believe it should have been suffered to disturb the peace of a man, whose exemplary character had at that time secured him the applause of persons of the first distinction in all parts of Europe.

A story is current in the island, which offers a kind of solution to these difficulties, but being unnoticed by the historian of Dr. Wilson, or any other writer since his time, I can neither venture to insert as an unquestionable fact, nor can

I wholly pass over what is universally believed, where every particular relative to the bishop is preserved with religious care.

It is said (and in this particular the author of his life concurs) that when he took possession of the see of Man, he found the revenues in a state of dilapidation; the tithes in particular had been suffered to lapse from the neglect of former incumbents; and a practice had crept in of wholly reserving the estates of the principal civil officers from this species of taxation; which exemptions, founded only on custom, were termed prescriptive rights, and at length came to be set up as indefeasible. The first efforts of the bishop for the improvement of the impoverished revenues of his church, were directed against these powerful opponents.

In the prosecution of this matter, much animosity was engendered on both sides; and there are some documents extant, which certainly bear out the relation. That a man of the bishop's upright and independent spirit should have set himself to abrogate claims merely founded in power on one side, and admitted from weakness on the other, is very highly probable, that he should also have gone resolutely to the source of the evil, is consistent with his whole course of acting and living; but that he should have con-

ducted this matter with the asperity sometimes ascribed to him, I find it difficult to believe. According to the ecclesiastical laws of the island, a process may be commenced in the bishop's court, which does not even require a hearing on both sides, or a notice to the defendant; and on an exparté statement, an order *may* pass against a person complained of, which if not implicitly obeyed, subjects them to imprisonment during the pleasure of the court, or till an appeal is accepted to the metropolitan; and it is said, that under authority of this law, (certainly existing, but not often acted upon,) Bishop Wilson in consequence of the resistance of the then Clerk of the Rolls to the payment of his tythe, issued his precept, and committed him close prisoner to the dungeon at Kirk Germain. In confirmation of this statement, a petition appears on record from the Clerk of the Rolls, complaining of such treatment, and praying to be heard in person against the demand; to which petition the answer, signed by the bishop's own hand, is, *that such hearing was not customary, nor would be granted.*

In what manner this affair ended I have not been able to ascertain; but as most of these prescriptive rights were annihilated, in all probability the bishop obtained a victory, as in justice and

reason he ought to have done: for the iniquity of assessing the poor and exempting the rich, must be obvious to all.

In the present times, when the indefeasible rights of man are so well established, perhaps we may wish that what it was perfectly just and proper to do, had been done with more regard to those rights; we are naturally shocked at the idea of claims, however well founded, being arbitrarily established; and, perhaps, we must also admit that if there was a blemish in the character of Bishop Wilson, (and what human creature is without one,) it consisted in an attachment, approaching to bigotry, to the canons of the church; in exacting conformity to ecclesiastical laws, he followed both the spirit and the letter. It was enough that the church had decreed a point to render even debate on the subject a sacrilege in his eyes. He shrunk with horror from every question that might by possibility disturb the faith either of himself, or his flock: in his dread of the incursions of infidelity, he even excluded discussion.

It is well known that he suspended a clergyman in the island, for hazarding a doubt, in one of his discourses, whether the power of granting absolution for sin had really devolved from the apostles to their successors in the ministry.

But after all, these mistakes, if such they were, sprung from a mind zealously devoted to the cause of genuine religion. Dr. Wilson had settled his belief on conviction, as his whole course of acting through a long life evidently proved; he knew the consequences of agitating doubt in ignorant minds, such as he had to govern; he saw that to give efficacy to his doctrine, he must follow the example of his Saviour, and "teach as one having authority;" and according to the character of the times in which he lived, he could admit of no compromise. Controversy was not then as now, under the control of moderation or even good manners, it was a species of warfare, in the prosecution of which, all means, whether of insult or injury, were considered as lawful weapons; and such in all probability had been the conduct of his opponents in the difference arising on the subject of tythes. In the lapse of time all that is not upon record is lost, and we see only a severe infliction, without knowing any of the aggravation that led to it, or the circumstances which might make it necessary. One thing, however, is obvious, that had the bishop exceeded his authority, the means of obtaining redress against him were open and easy, and that this was never attempted. The use he made of the improved revenues of his see,

are also a proof, written in unfading characters, of the disinterested purity of his motives; and at any rate the course of retaliation adopted against him, if such it was, was wholly unjustifiable, as being founded neither in law or equity; besides which, the number of years that had elapsed from the time when Dr. Wilson established these offensive claims, and the changes which had taken place in the governing power, leads one to doubt whether the extraordinary persecution he afterwards underwent could have originated in this source.

The history of this affair, as it may be gathered from his life, is as follows: In 1719, Mrs. Horn, the wife of the governor, having some quarrel with one Mrs. Puller, she carried her resentment so far as to charge her opponent with a criminal intimacy with one Sir James Poole, then also resident in Castletown; and had so much influence with the archdeacon Horrobin as to prevail on him to refuse the sacrament to the supposed offender, on account of this accusation. Mrs. Puller, mortified and exasperated by this public disgrace, had recourse to the mode pointed out by the ecclesiastical constitutions to establish her innocence, namely, by oath; which she and Sir James Poole tendered before the bishop, with compurgators of the best character: and no evidence being produced by their accu-

sers to establish the charge, though repeatedly called on to this purpose, they were in consequence cleared of the imputation, and sentence passed against Mrs. Horn, as inventor of the calumny, for which she was required to ask pardon of those she had traduced: but far from complying with this moderate requisition, the governor's lady peremptorily refused obedience; and openly expressed the utmost contempt both for the bishop and the censures of the church. For this indecent disrespect to the laws, which her elevated situation rendered the more offensive, she was in her turn banished from the altar, till atonement should be made. Notwithstanding which, the archdeacon out of pique to the bishop, or for some other unworthy motive, received her to the communion.

An insult to himself the bishop would have had no difficulty to forgive, but disobedience to the church he could not consistently overlook; and after some further discussion, he was compelled to suspend the archdeacon; who in a rage, instead of referring the matter to the Archbishop of York, the proper judge in ecclesiastical affairs, threw himself on the civil power, where he was assured of support in his contumacy.

In the interim, the bishop had appointed the Rev. Mr. Ross to officiate in the chapel at Castle-

town, during the archdeacon's suspension; but the governor refused to deliver the keys to him, and kept the chapel shut up altogether. On which the bishop made a strong remonstrance at the Tynwald court against this entrenchment on the spiritual authority. This document, which is dated June 25, 1722, being addressed to the governor at the Tynwald,* was not noticed but at the conclusion of the meeting, and when nearly all the keys and most of the council had retired, Captain Horn, with those who remained, made an order, *in the name of the whole*, that the bishop should be fined 50l. and his two vicars 20l. each, for illegal and extra-judicial proceedings in supending archdeacon Horrobin. And on the 29th of the same month, on their refusal to pay the penalty, they were all three committed to Castlerushen. The laws of the island must have been in a most indeterminate state, when such proceedings as these could be carried into effect, on a sentence actually disavowed by nearly all the persons pretended to be concurring in it, and of which no previous notice had been given to the defendants, to afford them an opportunity of rebutting the charges brought against them.

* See Appendix, 5.

The concern of the people on this insult being offered to their beloved pastor, amounted to agony. They assembled in crowds round the prison walls, and it was with infinite difficulty they were prevented levelling the governor's house with the ground; nor was it preserved at last but by the exhortations of the bishop, who being permitted to address them through a window of his prison, entreated their forbearance and submission, telling them he would "appeal unto Cæsar," (meaning the king,) "and had no doubt he would vindicate his cause, if he had acted right." But though he restrained them by his influence from open violence, nothing could allay their anxiety. All business throughout the island was at a stand, one sole object attracted the attention of the whole community, and nothing but personal and almost daily conviction of his safety, could satisfy the individual apprehensions of his flock, who resorted from all parts in hundreds to the walls of the castle; nor would they depart without his benediction and council.*

With what sensations governor Horn must

* The bishop afterwards declared, that he never governed his diocese so well, or instructed his people with such effect as from the walls of his prison.

have beheld these scenes of public distress and gratitude, it is not difficult to conceive; but it is wonderful that it should have produced no effect on his conduct; for so far was he from relaxing any part of the perscution to which he had subjected these divines, that he actually detained them two months; and during that time dictated every possible aggravation of their sufferings, refusing admittance either to friends or servants, and treating them in all respects as persons confined for high treason.

The case meanwhile was fully stated by the bishop in a petition to the king in council, which was, however, dismissed on the ground of informality, inasmuch as it should have been addressed to the Earl of Derby; but it was recommended by the law officers of the crown, that the bishop and vicars should deposit the fines as a means of procuring their release, under an assurance that such compliance should not prejudice their appeal; and accordingly they did pay down the money, and being then set at liberty, they immediately repaired to England to prosecute the affair before the proper tribunal.

In a subsequent petition, the bishop states that his reasons for not appealing to the lord of the isle, in the first place, were, that as the prosecution against him was conducted by the earl's

attorney, he did suppose it was with his lordship's concurrence, more especially as the fines, if legally assessed, would have belonged to his lordship also.

That the bishop judged right in believing the matter was to a certain extent countenanced by the earl, is rendered evident by what followed; and the only justification, or rather apology, to be offered is, that Lord Derby must have been deceived by misrepresentations, which however ought not for a moment to have counterbalanced the high and well established reputation of the bishop. However, on finding it necessary to carry his appeal through this channel, the bishop and his vicars went into Lancashire, and repeatedly presented themselves at the mansion of the earl, who nevertheless refused them all access to his person, nor would he even examine into the nature of their complaint; but after keeping them in attendance from August to November, he at last peremptorily refused to accept the appeal on any terms. On which they were obliged to resort to London, and offer a third petition to the king.

The Attorney General then gave a regular notice to Lord Derby of the proceedings, and demanded from him if he had any knowledge of the affair, or any thing to object against the

appeals being entertained. To which his lordship returned an answer in substance as follows:

"That not having had any previous intimation of the proceedings from any of the constituted authorities in the Isle of Man, he could give no answer as to the complaint; but that he believed the persons complained of to be honest and well meaning men; and had no doubt, the matter in the bishop's petition was misrepresented."

The result of this iniquitous business, after two years prosecution, attended with heavy expenses and much personal vexation, was, that the whole proceedings were declared to be illegal, and the fines were in course reversed; but for recovery of damages against the governor and officers, or even of costs of suit, no provision was made; but these matters were to be referred to a fresh suit at law, to which the bishop had no inclination to resort. All personal offences or losses he could easily forgive and overlook; his sole object had been to establish the discipline of the church, and having succeeded in that, he had no further resentment to gratify. The suspension of Archdeacon Horrobin was taken off by him after proper submission; but whether Mrs. Horn submitted to the terms enjoined, I have never been able to discover. I conclude,

however, that the bishop would not relinquish a point of such importance to the established discipline of the church.

One cannot contemplate the issue of this extraordinary proceeding, without sensations of regret, that the principal actors in it should have escaped without due punishment. Nor can I help reverting to the case of Captain Christian, wherein a course so decidedly different was pursued by the court of England. In his affair an irregular appeal was received in the first instance; though offered by a person* having no personal interest in the prosecution; and on that petition a reprieve was granted. In a subsequent stage, the judges who had passed an illegal sentence were *fined* and *imprisoned*, and full restitution made, with all *costs* and *charges* to the heirs of the sufferer; but here in an instance of admitted injustice and tyranny, exercised on a man rendered sacred both by his function and the virtues of a long unblemished life, the court declares itself unequal to the task of redressing his grievances, beyond the reversal of a paltry fine, and leave all the rest as they found it, with hardly a slight reprimand to the offenders. In

* The deemster Christian, who had fled to England to avoid being a party in the judgment.

considering this outrage, a natural comparison arises between the times when such misconduct could be so passed over, and the present, when notwithstanding the violent cry raised against existing defects in the government and breaches of the constitution, I think no one will deny, that if such a scene was enacted in one of our remotest dependencies, and on the person of the most obscure individual, it would raise a clamour which nothing but the fullest redress to the injured, and punishment of the delinquents, could pacify or allay.

Bishop Wilson felt the consequences of the rigors he had undergone during the remainder of his life, having contracted a rheumatic disease from the dampness of the prison, which disabled the fingers of his right hand. The expenses also fell very heavy on him, being in the whole more than 500l. of which he received 300l. in a subscription, set on foot without his knowledge, to assist in carrying on the cause.

In the year 1739, the clergy of the island were thrown into great trouble by the death of the Earl of Derby, who leaving no issue, the lordship of Man devolved to the Duke of Athol; and by this event they were nearly deprived of their subsistence. Their livings consisting of one third of the impropriations, which had been

purchased from a former earl, in the episcopate of Dr. Barrow; an estate belonging to the Derby family in Lancashire having been collaterally bound as security for the payment of the annual returns. On the separation of the island from the earldom, the Duke of Athol claimed the impropriations as an inseparable appendage to his estate and royalty. The deed of conveyance was unfortunately missing from the records, nor could any title be made out either to the original purchase or the collateral security.

Under this alarm the clergy would have taken a very small sum in lieu of their claims; and the bishop mentions in a letter to his son, how much they were troubled to find proper persons to serve in the ministry; people being entirely discouraged from bringing up their sons to the church. But at length by the unceasing industry and perseverance of the diocesan and his son, the original deeds were discovered to have been lodged in the Rolls Chapel, London; and being immediately exemplified under the great seal of England, the security of the impropriations was established to the great relief of the parties concerned.

In 1740 a severe scarcity occurred in the island, where in fact the corn raised being always far short of the consumption, whenever (as

it happened at that time) an embargo was laid on the English ports, great necessity was sure to ensue. The bishop distributed his own grain as far as it would go, and bought up an additional quantity at a high price, to sell out at a reduced one, but all his efforts were inadequate to relieve the pressure of distress. To increase the calamity, an epidemic disease broke out, and as he was the *only physician* in the island, his bodily fatigues must have been incessant. In this deplorable state, a petition* was preferred to the king in council, by the bishop's son (who was chaplain to George II.), that the embargo might be taken off to a certain extent; a supply of corn was, at length, obtained just in time to save the whole people from starvation. The Duke of Athol also exerted himself for their relief, and received due acknowledgment from the keys on the occasion.

In 1743, the bishop wrote a letter of thanks to his Majesty personally, for the distinguished honor he had conferred on his son, in making him a prebend of Westminster.† The bishop's apostolic character had, at this time, secured

* See Appendix, 5, for the petition.

† See Appendix, 6, for the letter to the king, and also one to his son, on the same occasion.

him the veneration of all ranks; and the most exalted personages in various parts of Europe, bore testimony to his virtues. In the Isle of Man, the people were so strongly persuaded that a larger portion of the blessings of heaven attended on him, that they never began their harvest till he did, hoping to participate, through him, in these advantages: and if by chance he passed near any field where they were at work, their labours were suspended for a moment, whilst they asked his benediction; and then renewed, under an increased conviction, that for one day, at least, they would be prosperous.*

At the advanced age of eighty, he gives the following account of his daily labors in a letter to his son.

"I bless God I am pretty well. I preached on Palm Sunday; administered the sacrament on Easter Eve; preached and administered the sacrament on Easter Day at Peele; the next Sunday at Kirkmichael; and last Sunday at Jurby, when I performed the whole service."

* The same reverential regard obtained even in the great City of London, where, during his last visit, crowds would flock around him with the cry of "Bless me, too, my lord."

In 1744, he purchased some land, which he added to the living of Jurby. In 1755, his solicitations, added to those of his son, obtained a renewal of the royal bounty to the clergy, which had been suspended for several years.

He continued to ride on horseback till the year 1749. In 1751, he wrote a letter to the new governor, in which he apologized for his neglect of personal attendance, under the plea of his *great age;* indeed, the scene of his earthly existence was now drawing to a close, and with what delight he must have contemplated the prospect of transmission from time to eternity, may be partly conceived, when we review the events of a life uniformly devoted to the service of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. The immediate cause of his death was a cold, caught in walking in his garden in very damp weather. His end was easy and tranquil, it was like his life, devoted to prayer and praise, till he fell asleep to wake in heaven.

Words are inadequate to paint the anguish of his flock, when thus deprived of their beloved pastor. He was attended to his grave by the whole population of the island, without a single exception, unless of those who, by age or sickness, were incapacitated. The tenants of his nearest demesnes were appointed to bear him to

his last earthly home; but at every resting place a contest ensued amongst the most respectable persons present, and happy were they who could perform this last sad office for their friend and benefactor. He was interred in Kirkmichael church-yard, at the east end near the chancel, and over his grave, a square tomb-stone was placed, surrounded by iron rails, on which is the following inscription:

On the sides,

Sleeping in Jesus, here lieth the Body of THOMAS WILSON, D. D. Lord Bishop of this Isle, who died March 5, 1755, aged 93, and in the 58th year of his Consecration.

At the ends,

This Monument was erected by his Son, THOMAS WILSON, a native of this Parish, who, in obedience to the express commands of his father, declines giving him the character he justly deserved.

"Let this Island speak the rest."

On the decease of Bishop Wilson, the patronage of the see being vested in the Duke of Athol, his Grace paid a compliment to his memory, most honorable to himself. From a conscientious desire that the benefits effected by the late excellent incumbent, should proceed under the auspices of his successor, he waved his right of

nomination, and, disregarding the many claimants who were, no doubt, looking up in hopes of a prize, now rendered both valuable and honorable, he referred it to the bench of bishops, requesting them to point out a man worthy of wearing the mitre, which Bishop Wilson had adorned.

In consequence of which request, Dr. Mark Hildesley was unanimously recommended by them, and appointed by his Grace, being consecrated Bishop of Man, April 25, 1755. On coming to his diocese, his sentiments were thus expressed:

"I know it is sometimes said, that 'a person succeeds with disadvantage to an office which has been filled by a predecessor of remarkably eminent qualities.' I must take leave to think the reverse as nearer truth; at least, with respect to the instance I am about to refer to, namely, my coming after the great and good Dr. Wilson, to this see of Man; forasmuch as I see many excellent things done and established to my hand, in regard to the government of the church, besides the example which, by the traces he has left, his Lordship still lives to shew, and which I will endeavour, as far as I am able to follow, though I am sensible it must be 'non passibus nequis.'"

The first great work Dr. Hildesley sat himself to complete was, the translation of the Scriptures into Manx, begun by Dr. Wilson, who, at his own expence, had printed the Gospel of St. Mathew, and prepared the other Evangelists, and the Acts of the Apostles; and this, with the assistance of the clergy, he was happy enough to finish. It might, indeed, be truly said of this good man, that he had caught the mantle of the prophet as he ascended to heaven, though he had but just completed the great work above-mentioned, when he was called to give an account of his stewardship, having often been heard to declare, that he only wished his existence might be protracted till the Scriptures were finished in the native language; and it is extremely remarkable, that he received the last part of the Bible from his publisher on Saturday, November 28, 1772, on which occasion, he emphatically sung his *Nunc Dimmittis* in the presence of his whole family; and next evening, after family prayers, he read a lecture on the uncertainty of human life, observing, that many people were in a moment deprived of their senses and existence; and thus, in a prophetic manner, foretelling his own decease, for, on the following Monday, he was seized with a stroke of the palsy, which deprived him of his perception;

and in this situation he lingered till that day week, when he died, and was buried according to his own directions, by the side of Bishop Wilson, that he might be united in death with that man, whose example he had endeavoured to imitate whilst living.*

On the death of Dr. Hildesley, the Rev. Dr. Richmond obtained promotion to the Isle of Man; but, on the period of his episcopacy, I take no pleasure in expatiating, the unbending haughtiness of his disposition formed so decided a contrast to the characters of his predecessors, that he excited a general sentiment of aversion in the minds of his people, which must have de-

* When Dr. Hildesley was at Scarborough in 1764, the following lines were stuck up in the Spa room, which, being taken down by his sister, were found amongst his papers after his death, with these words written on them by the bishop: "From vain-glory in human applause, *Deus me liberat et conservat.*"

If to paint folly till her friends despise,
And virtue till her foes would fain be wise;
If angel-sweetness, if a godlike mind,
That melts with Jesus over all mankind—
If this can form a bishop—and it can,
Though lawn were wanting—Hildesley is the man.

feated the efficacy of his doctrines, however pure. He died, and was succeeded by

Dr. George Mason, who sat till the year 1785. The last part of his life was disgraced by a scene of necessity, and derangement of circumstances, utterly inconsistent with his station. In his hands were placed the funds subscribed towards building the church dedicated to St. George, on an elevation above Douglas, and by his insolvency and death, the persons employed in that erection, were actually deprived of the sums due to them, to their great injury, and, in one or two instances, their complete ruin.

The last incumbent was, the Rev. Claudius Crigan, a man of simple and unostentatious manners; but, from the absence of all energy of mind or character, not very well calculated to sustain his dignity, or embellish his office. He sat twenty-eight years, and then resigned his life and his see, without exciting any considerable regret in the minds of his flock.

The present bishop is a gentleman of distinguished rank and polished manners; he is a son of the late highly respectable and Rev. Lord George Murray, bishop of St. David's. At the death of Dr. Crigan, the bishop elect being under the age at which, by the canons, he might

assume the pall, the see was held unoccupied for twelve months. He has now been consecrated about two years. It would appear too much like flattery of a living character, if I was to express the sentiments of hope and expectation which are entertained by all ranks in the Isle of Man, from the commencement of his career.

CHAP. VIII.

Review of the State of the Island under the dominion of the House of Stanley—Excessive Alarm excited by the revestment in Great Britain—the revival of Prosperity and general amelioration of Character and Manners resulting from a better order of things—Prejudice against the Duke of Athol, whence it originates, and how maintained.

HAVING brought the history of the island down to the time when it underwent its last great change, I shall endeavour to give a summary view of the condition in which the Manx people stood, when the power of the house of Stanley was extinguished.

As I have before observed, the population had been essentially reduced by the Scottish usurpation, and the inhabitants were levelled to a class

of mere peasants, who, at the time the Stanleys came into possession, were too poor to emigrate, and too ignorant to effect their own improvement. Their new lords, therefore, claimed an indefeasible right in the whole landed property, and appear to have considered the people in much the same point of view, that a Russian noble regards the vassals on his estates, as creatures existing only to cultivate lands for his benefit, in which they had, individually, neither right or interest. In this state of humiliation, the Manx remained with little variation for three centuries, employing themselves in fishing during the short season the herrings were on the coast, and for the rest of the year devoted to complete idleness, except the trifling garrison duty exacted from each, whilst the women performed the task of cultivating just so much land as, on the closest calculation, would supply the wants of the family, and pay the lord's rent. They dwelt in mud huts, without doors or windows, merely serving the single purpose of defending them from the inclemencies of the weather. There was at this time an essential difference between the Manx and the Scottish Clans, inhabiting the out-isles, formerly associated under the same government, and, probably, then actuated by the same habits and manners.

In those isolated spots, though the land belonged altogether to one chief, yet were his interests so bound up by participation and relationship with those of his dependents, that his superiority seemed to be reflected back, and to give to the whole community an elevation proportioned to his own. On the contrary, the lord of Man, for many ages, came amongst his people, but to coerce their persons, or to subtract from their little gains: in comparison to him, they were a distinct and inferior race of beings, who could only gaze on him in his elevated sphere, as a meteor or a comet, likely to endanger or alarm, but without a promise of advantage to mark his track. So circumstanced, they had quietly taken the evil with the good, neither stimulated by comparison, nor encouraged by hope, till about twenty years before Bishop Wilson's time, when a new channel was opened by a band of adventurers who came from Liverpool, and settled themselves in Douglas, for the avowed purpose of carrying on an illicit trade; and by the advantages they held out, they soon induced ships to and from the East and West Indies, as well as those engaged in the Guinea trade, to touch at the island, where they found a ready market for part of their cargoes, which were afterwards conveyed in Manx vessels (and by those means

cluding the custom dues) into other countries, as well as Great Britain and Ireland.

The profits attending this nefarious traffic were soon perceived to be so large, that the natives, awakened from their stupor, resolved to participate with the strangers. The lord of the isle also, deriving advantage from certain small duties paid to him, was little concerned to suppress it; and the people, already trained up to the sea, and inured to hardship, were well calculated to encounter the dangers of such an employ. But, in a pursuit of this kind, it is obvious the morals of the nation must be put to extreme hazard; it was impossible a commerce, founded on trick and fraud, could be prosecuted, without an entire surrender of principle, and the conviction that such was the case, gave to the good Bishop Wilson, as may be easily imagined, the most lively concern. In a letter to his son, dated in 1742, he says,

"Our people are mightily intent upon enlarging the harbours at Peel, Ramsay, and Douglas; but the iniquitous trade carried on, to the injury and damage of the crown, will hinder the blessing of God from falling upon us."

He earnestly strove to divert their awakened activity into another channel; but, in this particular, all his influence could impose no restraint,

the gains and profits were obvious and present, the injury done to a government whose relationship they scarcely admitted, was founded upon abstract principles, which they had a difficulty, as well as disinclination, to comprehend; and it became evident, that only the strong arm of power could extirpate this nest of plunderers. On this ground, the revestment of the island in the crown of Great Britain was proposed, and carried into effect, as we have related, greatly against the wishes of its former possessors; and yet their reluctance bore no comparison to that with which the change was regarded by the natives. This feeling was also considerably aggravated by the secrecy observed on the part of the Duke of Athol or his officers, in relation to the treaty whilst pending; it appears by evidence given in before the English commissioners in 1792, that the first news of this intended sale was, only a slight rumor, which reached the island in January, 1785; in consequence whereof, a requisition was made to the governor to convene the keys, with which he did not comply; that, in the month of March following, the proceedings in parliament becoming a matter of notoriety, and when, in fact, the consent of the duke and duchess had been given to the transfer, a second petition was presented for assembling the legis-

lature of the island, which was at length granted; and, in consequence of this meeting, two gentlemen* were deputed by the keys to attend parliament on behalf of the Manx, accompanied by a merchant as agent for commercial affairs.

To have thus transferred a nation and its inhabitants, without the compliment of informing them of the change about to take place, appears a stretch of arbitrary power, hardly reconcileable with our ideas of civil liberty. It is true, that when complaint of this disregard to their claims and feelings was made to the duke, he expressed some surprise, and declared he *had given* direction to one of his officers to make the matter known in the island, whilst it was yet undetermined. This officer, when applied to, alleged his obedience to the order; but, on further investigation, it came out, that he had only acquainted the governor, and between these two gentlemen the secret had rested till the whole was effected, and remonstrance had become equally vain and useless.

Soon after this event, an act passed both houses of parliament, not merely calculated to root out the illicit trade, but imposing such severe restrictions on the regular commerce of the island, that

* Mr. Moore and Mr. Cosnahan.

the people, previously alarmed and agitated, were now driven to such despair, that they believed their ruin to be complete; insular property sunk to the lowest state of depreciation, and nearly all who had the means of removal, began to entertain the idea of emigration, when, as a last effort, three other commissioners were dispatched to England, to represent the miserable condition of the inhabitants, and endeavour to obtain some redress of their grievances.

Happily, this last remonstrance was attended with success; some clauses of unnecessary severity in the act complained of, were repealed, and certain encouragements held out to the fair trader, which opened a brighter prospect, and effectually relieved the public mind. From this time, the character and situation of the Manx has been gradually improving; the advantages of being governed by a great nation, instead of a petty lord, is universally felt. Those who had already accumulated large gains from the contraband trade, were, by the change, obliged either to sit down upon the lands they had acquired, and turn their thoughts to agriculture, or to embark their capital in regular commerce. Very few sunk back into the state of apathy formerly indulged. Industry, though ill-directed, had been awakened; some luxuries, too, had crept in,

which, though not always beneficial to individual character, are still, up to a certain heighth, universally productive of national advantage.

But whatever pursuits were superinduced, the herring fishery, supported by ancient habits and early association, was regarded as the chief good; and to this pursuit, requiring neither talent nor labor, the mass of the peasantry still confined their hopes and exertions; on which account, agriculture, with its moderate returns and permanent advantages, was yet almost entirely neglected.

The Duke of Athol, in making a sale of the island, had reserved all his feudal rights as lord of the soil, with certain other profits coming under the same description. But the enmity excited in the minds of his late subjects, was too active a principle not to produce continual resistance against these claims, which, no longer backed by sovereign power, were met by every species of opposition; so that it became necessary in 1790, to resort to parliament to establish his mutilated rights, which was accordingly done by the present duke, who further complained, that the sum given to his ancestor was greatly beneath the value of the revenue ceded to the crown. His petition, therefore, went to obtain an additional compensation, and also to establish those ma-

norial rights, which, being unnecessary to the purposes for which the revestment was made, were never intended to be disturbed.

On this petition much contention ensued; the general feeling was averse to the first article; the keys petitioned against that clause which affected the insular rights; and, at length, after severe debate, the bill was thrown out.

The duke being thus left even in a worse situation than before, renewed his attempt in 1791, when a case was presented to the privy-council, containing such strong allegations, that commissioners were appointed to visit the island, and make a thorough investigation, both as to the particulars in dispute, and also into the general state of the revenues, produce, and trade.

The result of this inquiry proved, that great part of the duke's complaint was well founded; that the sum of £70,000. given for the cession, had been calculated on a revenue ill-managed and unfairly collected; consequently, falling much short of what, under a better system, it might have produced, and that, in other respects, the property meant to have been reserved to the noble complainant, was unnecessarily crippled.

In consequence of this report, a fresh bill was offered in 1805, on which the former contentions were renewed in both houses; many members

asserted, that the duke had received full compensation for the Isle of Man in its then state, and that if by the fostering care of the British government the revenue had been increased, it was no reason why the late possessor should call for farther remuneration; it was asserted, that the last Earl of Derby had farmed his whole receipts to a merchant of Liverpool for £1000. per ann.; and it was observed, that if such a precedent was set up, with equal justice might any man, who had neglected his estate and sold it for a depreciated value, demand an additional compensation of the next possessor, when he should, by his industry or skill, have improved and restored the dilapidated property.

On the other hand, the friends of the duke maintained, that the loss sustained by him and his family, might, at a moderate computation, be estimated at £620,000., a sum so enormous as to excite the ridicule of opposition, but at length, *being supported by ministry*, the affair was decided; the manorial rights clearly ascertained and established, and an additional sum of £3000. per annum out of the consolidated fund bestowed on the duke and his heirs for ever.

This success renewed the ancient grudge of

the people against the Athol family; in the year 1798 the duke had accepted the post of governor of the island, an office, as it appears to me, much below his rank, and which, by constantly keeping alive the recollection of his former supremacy, ought to have been painful to his feelings: nevertheless, when he first assumed the government he was received with every sentiment of respect; the people were disposed to regard him as a fellow sufferer with themselves, by the act of his ancestor, and hoped that his interest would still be exerted in behalf of his natural dependents; as such, on his arrival the natives, forgetting their usual apathy, flocked around him, took the horses from his carriage, and drew him to his house, amidst the loudest acclamations; but this popularity was of short duration; whilst the bill above-mentioned was depending, the people were *instructed* to believe, that its object went to the entire annihilation of their property, which it was represented the duke, in imitation of one of the Earls of Derby, meant to seize into his own hands. A prejudice once sown, especially by a popular leader, is difficult to eradicate, in proportion to the grossness of the soil in which it has taken root, and the extreme ignorance of the mass contributed to establish a belief, which,

to this moment, is not wholly done away; many of the landholders still asserting, that such a scheme *was* on foot, but that by *some* means (which they neither understand, nor can explain) it was defeated through the interference of certain individuals, who, from thence forward, have been regarded, without justice or reason, as the protectors of Manx independence; whilst the duke has invariably to encounter either the strongest marks of aversion, or at best a silent and contemptuous neglect: his acts, many of them highly beneficial to the community, are viewed with suspicion, and to the utmost of their power the legislature set themselves to negative and defeat all his propositions: most people wonder that so circumstanced, his grace does not resign an office, in which he is so ill understood, and from whence he can derive neither honour nor profit; but perhaps the maintenance of his private rights are bound up to a certain extent in the exercise of his power as a governor, and in addition to that consideration, he has extensive influence in the appointment of officers in the different departments, which are usually filled up through his patronage, by persons connected with, or dependent on, his family, generally to the exclusion of the natives, whose jealousy is very properly excited by this preference

shewn to foreigners, who, on the other hand, feeling their obligation to the duke, are strenuous supporters of his power, and serve to compose a little court, and maintain a faint appearance of state during his short visits to the island.

CHAP. IX.

Tour round the Island, commencing at Douglas—Description of that Town and Neighbourhood.

BEFORE I enter on general subjects connected with the present state of the island, I think it may form a very proper ground-work to draw a short sketch of the country itself. The scenery of the Isle of Man, except on the north side, where it is better wooded, has no great beauties; there is nothing to elevate or astonish, and not much to admire: the mountains are of too tame a character, and too frequently covered with fog, which, as a native poet says,

"Sits like a night-mare squat on Mona's breast,"

to give pleasure, except to an imagination strong-

ly tinctured with Ossianic scenery; such may here find all the varieties of tint and form that enraptured the mountain bard, but they will still languish for the bolder features of his scenery. The highest elevation rises so gradually, that its effect is lost to the eye; there is hardly a bold or abrupt precipice throughout the whole, except in the rocky scenery round the coast, which can only be surveyed from the sea; the interior is cast in the same mould with its inhabitants, and a sort of quiet mediocrity characterises the whole. The country is intersected by streams, which, though scarcely more than rivulets, serve to diversify the scene, and the water is every where pure and excellent, totally free from the brackish taste usually prevailing in the vicinity of the sea, and as has been found, on experiment, admirably adapted to the use of the manufacturer as well as for domestic purposes.

The course usually pursued by travellers is to make a tour round the coast, on which all the towns and villages are seated, the interior being chiefly divided into small farms, or abandoned to the undisturbed dominion of heath and gorse. The high roads are tolerably level, and capable, with a little more attention, of being made excellent. The town of Douglas, from various causes, has a pre-eminence over all the others,

both in trade and population, though it is not the seat of government; but as it is the point at which nearly all visitors first arrive, I shall begin my description in that quarter.

The approach to this place by sea presents a most imposing aspect; on turning either of the heads that form the semicircle of the bay, which is of considerable extent, the eye takes in at once a variety of objects calculated to raise fairy hopes of the interior; in the centre stands the free stone palace of the Duke of Athol, called Mona Castle, magnificent from its size, if not from its architectural beauties. The hill behind this mansion is planted and cultivated, so as to draw forth and embellish all its natural advantages, though the space devoted to this purpose not exceeding five or six acres, bears no proportion to the size of the dwelling: at a short distance is a neat and elegant villa belonging to Col. Stewart, and in addition to these several modern houses, at different elevations, overhang the bay, and give an air of modest opulence and comfort to the whole. In a recess at the south side rises the town with a handsome pier, and a light-house, of classical elegance, presenting a new proof of the capriciousness of taste in the human mind, these two being planned and erected by the same artist, who built the chaotic mass, above-mentioned

for the Duke of Athol. The whole bay is two miles across, and is sheltered from all winds except the north east; both its points are rocky and dangerous, and in the middle is a bed of rocks called "Connister," on which, in the stormy season, many vessels find their destruction.

It is unfortunate when the first glance at a place excites expectations, which every succeeding view must damp and dissipate; those who arrive at Douglas on a fine day can hardly fail to find the pier covered with groupes of white robed damsels, full of gaiety and spirit, they will cast their eyes with delight on the villas which surround or overhang the bay; if the time is evening, they may probably be greeted with the sound of military music from the parade, and the combination must naturally lead them to anticipate an entrance into a mahometan paradise, peopled with houris; but this lovely vision will only last till they have ascended the stairs opposite to the custom-house; from that moment they must thread their way through a labyrinth of narrow dirty streets, and prepare to encounter the usual variations of dirt and neglect, for certainly nothing can be more inconvenient or disagreeable than the internal arrangement of this town, where the divisions form angles, which would defy the skill of the best charioteer of

ancient or modern times; no part is flagged, nor is it well lighted, except in the vicinity of the harbour. The whole forms a triangle, the longest side extending from the bridge to the pier, but as the buildings are now rising in every direction, this shape will soon be lost; nor is it indeed even now so clearly defined as it was a few years back: the pier is in length five hundred and twenty feet, its breadth forty, it is handsomely paved with free stone; at the distance of four hundred feet it suddenly expands fifty feet to the right; this part being raised forms a semicircle to which there is an ascent by a flight of steps, and in the centre of the area is the lighthouse, according to the opinion of nautical men, more to be celebrated for its beauty than utility; being situated considerably within Douglas Head, and so nearly on a level with the town, that its light is often confounded with that of the neighbouring houses.

The harbour is esteeemed the best dry one in the Irish channel, and admits vessels of considerable burthen, at high water, close to the quay. The customhouse is the best building in the town, and conveniently situated for business: it was erected during the prevalence of the contraband trade, by one of those persons who had realized a considerable property in that pursuit; but in the panic following the revestment of the

island, he sold it much under its value to the Duke of Athol, by whom it has been devoted to its present use. Till very lately all the houses in Douglas were low and ill-constructed, crowded together without regard to convenience or uniformity; but latterly several new streets have been constructed in the suburbs, well situated for comfort and accommodation, in which the houses combine some degree of elegance in the exterior, with considerable attention to internal convenience.

The act of the legislature, taking away the protection from foreigners, has been more severely felt in Douglas than in any part of the island; this being the spot generally preferred by visitors of this description, and in consequence many houses are at this time uninhabited, and the shops have lost that animated appearance of business formerly visible in them; but yet as all the imports and most of the exports pass through this port, there is still a considerable trade carried on, and a degree of bustle perceptible on the quay, that keeps hope alive, and leads the inhabitants to look forward to the renewal of past prosperity, from some other source. The shops afford a good assortment of articles of necessity and convenience; but it is the practice to mix various branches of trade in one receptacle, particularly linen-drapery, grocery, and hard-

wares, which is not favourable to the condition of the stock. One of the principal traders in the town of Douglas deals in the following incongruous list of commodities—millinery, mercery, liquors, wines, grocery, linen-drapery, stationary, ironmongery, salt, shoes, tobacco, snuff, brushes, brooms, mops, perfumery, hats, hosiery, herrings, and coals.

The assembly-room is spacious, but neither elegant or even neat, yet the balls are well attended, and the young people dance to their two fiddles with as much hilarity as if the apartment was illuminated by Grecian lamps, or adorned with velvet hangings. A theatre was erected a few years since, but the encouragement given being insufficient to induce good performers to make even temporary visits, the building has been diverted to other purposes.

Amongst the most promising establishments are a public library and reading room; institutions so necessary to the improvement of society, that they deserve in all places the highest support, and the most careful superintendence; but in this, as in many other instances, too much party spirit prevails, and in consequence the advance has not been equal to the commencement; the president, the committee, and the secretary, have been occupied with private differences, when they should have been debating

only on the best means of promoting the good of the society, and therefore the collection of books is neither so large, or so well chosen, as it might have been, considering the time which has elapsed since the formation, or the funds subscribed. There is now only one printing-press* in the island, from whence a newspaper issues weekly, but it is the vehicle merely for advertisements. In Douglas is a small chapel dedicated to St. Matthew; but the place of worship most frequented is a new church, a little above the town, which is neatly finished, and where the pews let at a very high rate. The parish church, called Kirk Braddan, is at a distance of two miles; there are besides these, a methodist meeting house, a presbyterian chapel, and also one for catholics.

A Lancastrian school, and a house of reception for the poor, ought to be mentioned with praise; both owe their rise to voluntary subscriptions, to which those persons, whom the natives are too fond of distinguishing by the term *strangers*, have been much the largest contributors: formerly, the poor of Douglas, as is still the case in all other parts of the island, were

* Since writing this, another has been established.

partly maintained by a collection, which is made every Sunday in the different churches after the morning service, when the wardens go round from pew to pew, and though none of the donations are large, yet it is very unusual for any one to refuse some trifle. In country places, where the persons claiming parochial relief are not numerous, these alms have been found tolerably adequate to their support; but in the towns, though the collections were much larger, yet they fell very far short of the wants to be supplied, and this deficiency it was the custom to make up by domiciliary visits of the paupers themselves, who usually on a Monday morning made a progress in a body from house to house, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants, who were literally besieged by a body of claimants not easily to be either satisfied or dispersed. The establishment of a public kitchen in Douglas has completely relieved the housekeepers of that town from this weekly visitation; to support this institution each family subscribes according to inclination or ability, and the whole is conducted under the vigilant and judicious superintendance of the high bailiff of the town, to whose exertions the plan, excellent as it is, first owed its rise. Those poor persons who, from sickness or infirmity, are unable to attend at the regular

meals are provided with food at home, the others take their shares at a common table, and some few reside in the poor-house altogether. The whole number receiving daily aid are about 100 persons.

The Lancastrian school has also been an essential public benefit, and a very visible improvement has taken place in the children of the poor since its institution. Establishments of the same kind, but on a smaller scale, have been set on foot in Ramsay and Castletown, from whence it may be hoped, that the blessings of education, which not many years since were unattainable even by the higher ranks in the island, will now be extended to the lowest. The last public buildings which I have to notice are the hot and cold salt water baths, these, which are not yet quite finished, will be of inestimable utility to valetudinarians, and no doubt tend to increase the resort of visitors from the opposite coasts during the bathing season.

The post office for the island is in Douglas, where all letters are brought from Whitehaven, and thence forwarded to the other towns. The packet sails from England, wind and weather permitting, every Monday night, and after a stay of three days is again due for the opposite coast.

The lodging-houses are very numerous in this

town, but there are few inns, and only two of any pretensions; in these the accommodations are good, and the difference between their charges and those made at English hotels is so great, that it induces many persons to give a preference to Douglas, for a temporary visit during the summer, especially as the sands are well adapted for bathing, and proper machines in waiting. The markets are abundantly supplied; but for a scale of prices, &c. I shall reserve a page at the conclusion of the work.

The Duke of Athol's house or castle, as it is the first object which strikes the eye of the traveller, and the most considerable for magnitude in the island, must not be passed over with the slight notice already taken of it. It is an erection faced with free-stone, on a plan so extraordinary, that it has puzzled persons, much better skilled in architecture than I pretend to be, to decide what class it belongs to. The mansion is a perfect square; on a line with the back front extends a string of offices, forming *one* wing under a colonnade, and thereby giving an air of deformity to the whole. The principal front recedes a little in the centre, for no reason but to countenance the erection of a modern balcony with a light iron railing, to contrast the gothic columns running up in the other parts of the

building. The windows are much too narrow, and the grand saloon, which is of magnificent dimensions, is completely spoiled by a row of small lights, like the windows of an attic story, passing over the cornice and principal sashes; besides all, the eye is offended by a line of battlements, above which rises a pointed and slated roof, giving a direct contradiction to the armed pretensions of the front; nor is this the worst error in judgment, for, amidst an assemblage of chimnies, roofs, cornices, and carved work, springs up a round Gothic tower, with long *sash windows* between the loop-holes, the only visible use of which strange excrescence, is to sustain a flag-staff, whence the colours are occasionally displayed.

The domain around the mansion is on a scale of littleness exciting continual astonishment, since there could be no cause why the lord of the whole island should fix on a spot so circumscribed, that the dwelling appears completely crowded under the hill, or rather gives an idea of having slid down in some violent concussion of the earth.

The terraces, walks, and gardens, would hardly suffice to exercise the taste of a citizen, who had to plan out his parterre and paddock for a country-box at Islington, and the whole is

so much elbowed and incommoded by neighbouring villas and cottages, that it can be compared to nothing more appropriate, than the noble owner himself, descending from his elevated station as lord of Man, and submitting to jostle and associate as *deputy* with those officers over whom he ought to have held sovereign sway. The cost of this building, with all its defects, is said to have been upwards of £50,000.; a large sum to expend on a mere monument over departed greatness.

CHAP. X.

Tour continued—Castletown—Derby Haven—The Calf—Peel Town and Castle—Ramsay Lazey, and the Road returning to Douglas again.

FROM Douglas to Castletown, which is the regular route, the distance is ten miles, the road lies past the seat of Major Tabbman, called the Nunnery, from the ancient structure formerly occupying the same site; but of which not a vestige remains, except a gateway still supporting the old bell, but now forming an entrance to the stables. The gardens and grounds have some beautiful features, for many years the whole has been without a rival, and travellers, finding nothing else to admire, have lavished more praise than it deserves on this spot, which certainly has many advantages in point of situa-

tion, but the scenery is disfigured by the erection of small houses, a mill, a warehouse, and even by two bleachfields, evermore spread with linens of different shades, all which are directly in front of the mansion. The house is not more than a decent country seat, whose whitened walls are curiously finished by a cornice and bordering of deep red stone. Above the nunnery the road commands a view of a rich valley, in which stands Kirk Braddan, and over all rises the lofty mountain of South Barrule; on the left is the delightful little villa, belonging to Major Tobyn, standing in the midst of a farm so neat and well cultivated, that the whole presents a scene of judicious and profitable improvement, combined with domestic comfort and beauty, which attracts continual admiration. Half way to Castletown, on the right, is Mount Murray, belonging to a nephew of the Duke of Athol, and from hence the mountain scenery runs up in a variety of barrenness, including Snawfel, Penny Pont, and North Barrule.

Kirk Santon, a small church, lies on the left; and about a mile from thence are several druidical vestiges, being stones elevated and placed in a circular form. Following the direct road, you arrive at Balla Llonay Bridge, usually called the Devil's Bridge, which is said to

be the scene of his satanic majesty's frequent exploits, on which account it is with extreme reluctance the natives venture over it after dark.

Balla Salla is the largest and most populous village in the island; the river and scenery are particularly beautiful, and some remains of Rushen Abbey still adorn the banks of the stream. This retreat was founded by Olave, King of Man, in 1104; but the church, though begun at the same time, was not finished or consecrated till 1257, though it had in that long interval served as a burial place for several of the royal family. The Monks were twelve in number, besides the abbot. They practised great austerities, wearing neither shoes or linen, nor eating flesh. In 1192 the recluses removed to Douglas, but in four years they returned to the abbey. In 1316 this place was plundered by Richard de Mandeville, who carried off the treasure to Ireland; and it was finally suppressed with the monasteries in England, in the reign of Henry VIII. but whether by the Lord of Man or by the King of England, I have not been able to discover. The site and remains of the abbey are in the possession of Mr. Moore, whose father when first deemster, built a hand-

some house on the spot, and converted some remains of the monastery into out offices.

From Balla Salla to Castletown, a distance of only two miles, the road is greatly beautified by some flourishing thorn hedges, which are cultivated with great attention on the estate of George Quayle, Esq.; these were, a very few years since, the only specimens of this ornamental fence in the island.

Although tradition has handed down no authentic account of the antiquity of the four principal towns, yet there is reason to believe that Castletown, or as it was originally called, Rushen, is the most ancient; and that it may have been nearly coeval with the castle, though the surrounding buildings not being framed like that for duration, must have been many times renewed since the first formation of the town. All those now in existence appear to have been raised within the last century, except one, now the George Inn, but formerly the abode of the lieutenant, and of the lord himself when on the island.

The venerable castle demands particular attention; it was erected in 960 by Guttred, the second Danish prince in succession from King Orry. This building, which is remarkable for solidity, bears a strong resemblance, and was

probably constructed on the same plan with the Castle of Elsineur, in Denmark. It is of a figure not easily described. A sort of stone glacis runs round the keep, and includes some other buildings now fallen to ruin. This glacis was added by Cardinal Wolsey, during the time that he was guardian to Eward, Earl of Derby. Within the walls are some convenient and partly modernised apartments, appropriated to the use of the lieutenant governor, and also a large court-room devoted to public use. On the walls are three confined buildings where the records are kept, and the business of the rolls office is conducted. There are also two rooms sometimes granted as an indulgence to persons confined for debt; but the great mass of unfortunate persons of this description, have hitherto been crowded together in those apartments set apart for that use; whilst felons were confined in the interior of the keep, in chambers so ruinous, that it was a great impeachment of the humanity of the government to commit any one on mere suspicion to such dungeons. Within the last year, however, great alterations have been commenced in the internal part of the castle; all of which is undergoing a substantial repair, and rooms of different dimensions are planned out, where the miseries of incarceration will be alleviated by

some attention to the convenience and accommodation of the sufferers.

The streets of Castletown are regular and airy; in the centre is an open space or square, around which are several very excellent houses, and at one end a neat and well appointed chapel. The keys have a house appropriated to their use, but it is a mean building, unsuited to the station held by this branch of the legislature. The free school of this town is considered as a very beneficial institution: it owes its rise to Bishop Barrow, who founded it in order to secure a succession of students, who should be properly educated for the ministry. The qualification required in the master is, that he should be a clergyman, and have taken his degrees at one of the universities; and the endowment arises from a sum given by Charles, Earl of Derby, being the profits of a former vacancy of the bishopric. Dr. Barrow also obtained several contributions, with which he purchased part of the impropriations; and he gave two valuable estates of his own in the island, called Hango Hill and Balla Gilly, all which are applied to the maintenance of four students, who previously to their admission must give security either that they will enter on the ministry when their education is

finished, or repay the money expended on them. After leaving the academy the young students have a stipend per annum till they obtain promotion in the church.

Castletown being the residence of the lieutenant governor, and usually also of the southern deemster; and as all law proceedings are conducted there, it must be considered as the metropolis of the island; and though not so flourishing in its trade, or so gay from the influx of strangers as its rival, Douglas, yet it affords in the opinion of many a much pleasanter retreat to persons unconnected with trade, or those who prefer a quiet social intercourse to a mixed society. The only public place of amusement here, as in the other towns, is the assembly room; but there is the usual routine of card playing, tea drinking, and morning visits. The gentlemen have a reading room, and of late, a literary society has been set on foot, which it is to be hoped will before long give to the general association a higher tone. There are not many shops in Castletown, and the access by sea is so difficult, that trade to any extent can never be carried on there, as most of the supplies must necessarily be landed at Douglas.

The Isle of Man bank is established in this

town, and is indeed the only house in the island which carries on the banking business unmixed with other concerns.

About a mile and a half across the sands is the Isthmus which joins the peninsula, called Langness Point, to the shore, and by its bend on one side forms an excellent and secure creek, called Derby Haven, where are the remains of a round tower, built by the Earl of Derby in 1603. This was no doubt a commanding point, and much better calculated to repel an enemy than Castle Rushen, which, indeed, has always been nearly inaccessible by sea, owing to the dangerous and rocky bay before it. Near the fort at Derby Haven are the ruins of a church, by some supposed to have been a cathedral. It is now used as a place of interment for Catholics.

About two miles west of Castletown is Port le Moray; and a little beyond that Port Erin, a romantic secluded bay, offering an excellent harbour. On the beach is a small village composed of huts of fishermen, with here and there a little cottage villa of a superior description. Near this place are the Giant's Quoiting Stones, as they are called, being large masses of unhewn slate standing erect; and a little further is a barrow, called Fairy Hill, very generally believed to owe its rise to the labours of those

visionary beings, but, in reality, thrown up in commemoration of Reginald, king of Man, who was slain in single combat by Ivar, in 1248.

From Port Erin, it is usual to make the passage to the small island called the Calf, always an object of curiosity to visitors; the distance from which place is three miles; the circumference of the Calf is computed to be five miles, including an area of six hundred acres. A very small part of this surface is converted into arable land, but the whole forms a fine sheep-walk. It is the property of the Duke of Athol, and by him leased to a farmer of the name of Gurley, who has erected a convenient house in the centre of his domain, in which he resides, with his wife and two or three servants, who are the only inhabitants of this isolated spot.

It is very properly tithe-free, having the benefit neither of church or minister. Except in the garden of the farmer, there is not a tree or shrub on the whole island. Rabbits abound everywhere, and are a great source of profit to the farmer in the spring of the year. The Calf is also the resort of immense numbers of sea-fowl, who form a most striking and picturesque scene from the water, sitting in innumerable tiers, one above another, on their nests in the clefts of the rocks, where the silence and security of their

situation must efface every recollection of their vicinity to their enemy, man, and recal the idea of those first ages of the world when birds and beasts were allowed to multiply their numbers, and possess their domains unrivalled and undisturbed. The scenery is uncommonly bold and beautiful, especially when thus adorned by its white-breasted inhabitants.

This islet is said to have been, at different times, the retreat of two hermits. The first in the reign of Elizabeth, imposed on himself a residence in this dreary solitude, as a penance, for having murdered his mistress in a fit of jealousy. The other was one Thomas Bushel, who made it his abode in the time of James I. in order to try the experiment how far a life of severe abstinence would promote longevity. What is called Bushel's house is now in ruins; it bears the outline of a small building, apparently consisting of two rooms, situated on the highest ground, and within a few yards of a perpendicular rock.

Whether this extraordinary ascetic died in his melancholy retreat, tradition gives us no certain information; but there is a place called Bushel's Grave, on the top of the adjoining rock, from whence we are led to suppose, that he did so.

This cemetery is most curiously constructed in

the form of a cross, containing two cavities six feet long, three wide, and two deep. Immediately on the edge is a wall of stone and mortar, two feet high, the whole is roofed and slated; but except the before-mentioned application of this repository to the purpose of sepulture, no probable conjecture has been formed of the use or design for which it was constructed. The rock itself is only accessible on one side, and is called the Eye or Burrow: it adjoins the Calf at low water, but at high water there are forty feet of intermediate sea.

Besides this point, there are two lofty triangular rocks, springing abruptly from the water, the highest of which rises one hundred feet, and in the narrower channel, between the Calf and the main land, is an islet named Kitterland, which affords herbage to a few sheep in summer.

Leaving Port Erin, the road to Peel lies through the pretty village of Kirk Arbory, so called from the number of trees formerly flourishing there, of which not a vestige now remains. From hence, we have a near view of the mountain called South Barrule, and on the opposite side are the lead-mines of Foxdale, the working of which has, of late years, been relinquished, though the belief of their intrinsic value is still maintained by many well-informed persons. On

the left is a mountain-torrent, falling from a perpendicular rock of about thirty feet, which the inhabitants have agreed to honor with the title of a cascade. At a short distance is Kirk Patrick, a church erected in 1710, by the exertions and benefactions of Bishop Wilson, who, besides giving £100. to better the endowment, presented the pulpit, reading-desks, communion-table, &c. &c.

Not far from hence is the most romantic and beautiful spot in the island, a valley called Glenmoi. It is a deep and rocky glen, well wooded, through which runs a rivulet, murmuring over its stony bed, and in one part forming a delightful fall of from thirty to forty feet. The northern bank is almost perpendicular, covered with luxuriant ivy, intermixed with holly; the south side exhibits a rich plantation of ash, chesnut and hazle. As the valley winds considerably, all foreign objects are necessarily excluded, and the whole has an air of the most pleasing solitude.

Peel, which was originally called Holm Town, is twelve miles distant from Douglas, and eight from Castletown; it is more remarkable for its ancient than its present rank.

In the feudal times, this town must have derived consequence from its vicinity to the castle;

and when the smuggling trade was at its heighth, Peel was a station of importance, but it is now little more than a narrow and dirty fishing town. The population is estimated at twelve hundred people. The bay abounds with excellent fish, and on this coast the herrings have, for many years, been taken in the greatest abundance. Peel Castle stands on a peninsula about one hundred yards west of the town; at low water it is joined to the main land by a stone wall, shelving to the top. Formerly, the approach was by a flight of steps, but time has rendered them nearly useless, and travellers now make their way to the ruins by clambering over the rocks.

Till the revestment of the island in the British government, this fortress was garrisoned by native troops in the pay of the lord, who usually gave them English officers; but, at the sale of the royalty, the armory was cleared of the matchlocks and other ancient weapons, the garrison reduced, and the whole has been suffered to fall into a state of incurable ruin. The remains, however, have yet an imposing appearance, the walls are still flanked by towers, and the outline is pretty well defined; it encloses an irregular polygon of two acres. The building was originally composed of a sort of red slate, winged and faced in many parts with red stone.

Almost in the centre is a square pyramidical mound of earth, each of its sides facing one of the cardinal points. The admeasurement of this elevation is seventeen yards, and it is surrounded by a ditch five feet and a half broad, but of the use for which it was designed, no account is extant; it is conjectured either to have been an eminence whence a commander might harangue the troops, or with more probability, the burial-place of some great personage.

In this fortress, two eminent persons have been imprisoned at different times, the one Elenor, wife to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in the reign of Henry VI., the other, the great Earl of Warwick, who, on one of his reverses, was banished to the island, and detained in the custody of this garrison.

Within the Castle walls are the remains of two cathedrals, one dedicated to St. Patrick, and believed to be the first Christian church erected here; the other, inscribed to St. Germain, and built about 1245. This last is described by several ancient authors, particularly Waldron, as having been richly ornamented, and abounding in monumental inscriptions; but, if it ever was so, the page of history has been more lasting than even memorials of stone and marble, for, at present, not a trace of these embellishments is

discoverable to the most curious research. It is completely unroofed, and only occasionally used as a cemetary. Bishop Wilson was the last diocesan enthroned in this cathedral.

Underneath is the ecclesiastical prison, constructed with all the gloomy severity of Monkish times: it is a vault eighteen feet deep, of which the roof is formed by thirteen pointed arches, supported upon short pilasters, only twelve inches above the ground; the bottom is extremely rough, and in one corner is a well, or spring, which must have made a deplorable addition to the natural humidity of the place, where neither light or air is admitted, but through a small window, deep set in the wall at the east end.

Waldron also says, in his account of this place, that there were other cells under the two churches, adapted to the purposes of punishment, in some of which the wretched inmates could neither sit or lie down, and that their seclusion in these dens of horror depended on the nature and enormity of their offences, and on the will of their judges. In these days of civilization, who can reflect without astonishment on the cruelty that could inflict, or the patience that could endure, such aggravated tortures both of body and mind. But though these severities have

never been exercised since the reformation, yet one cannot hear without wonder, that the other part of the ecclesiastical prison was tenanted so lately as in the days of the excellent Bishop Wilson, who, in more than one instance, consigned offenders to that miserable abode for various offences against the church, particularly the non-payment of tithes, and even in some cases without a hearing. Indeed, the power of the clergy in the Isle of Man has always had an arbitrary character, and even to this day the sentence of the bishop, or vicars general, is decisive, nor does it admit of bail; there is no alternative between prompt submission or imprisonment.

Three miles from Peel is the celebrated Tynwald mount. Its appearance is pleasing from the neatness with which its singular form is preserved, and venerable from its antiquity, and the interesting purposes to which it is entirely dedicated. It is a circular barrow, of moderate heighth, formed into a pyramid of three circles, the lowest being about eighty yards in circumference, and the top not more than seven feet in diameter. On this, when the legislative assembly is collected, a canopy and chair are placed for the lord, or his deputy, and the different officers, clergy and keys, take their respective stations below him, whilst the surrounding area is filled

with the people. Near the mount stands St. John's Chapel, from whence, after prayers and a sermon, the several persons forming the Tynwald court, move in procession to the mount, the ancient formulæ being still observed, as recited page 54; though from the great change of circumstances which has taken place since the origin of the institution, the ceremony is so completely divested of the dignity of former days, that it excites little attention, and hardly now affords a holiday-gaze to the mob.

The first part of the road to Ramsay from St. John's, lies through a deep and solitary glen, of two miles in length, containing in all that distance, only one miserable cottage, and one stunted oak. It is a most hermit-like solitude, steep, lofty, barren, and desolate. In the bottom runs a narrow rivulet, above which, the road is cut on the side of the hill. Leaving this dingle, you approach the pleasant village of Kirkmichael, a place rendered interesting to the admirers of superior goodness, as having been the home-scene of Bishop Wilson's active benevolence for more than half a century. I could scarcely forgive the traveller who, on entering the precincts of this parish, did not pay his first visit to the modest stone that covers the earthly remains of so much excellence.

The church is in the midst of the village, of which the chancel was rebuilt after the death of his father, by Dr. Wilson, son to the bishop who was born at Bishop's Court, and all his life took a warm interest in the affairs of the island, and, by his purse and influence, rendered many very essential services to his countrymen.

Near the church-yard is an upright stone, of great antiquity, on which are chiselled various devices of horses, riders, dogs, and stags; on the upper part is a warrior, with his spear and shield; on the edge are some runic characters, which are thus variously translated by different antiquarians. Sir John Prestwich asserts, that the words form the following sentence:

"Walter, son of Thurulf, a knight, right valiant, Lord of Frithu, the Father, Jesus Christ."

Whereas, Mr. Beaufort, with equal confidence, reads the inscription thus:

"For the sins of Ivalsir, the son of Duval, this cross was erected by his mother Aftridi."

There are some other monumental relics, which make a better appearance in description than reality, being almost defaced by time.

In this parish is a pile of stones, called Cairn Vial, probably raised in commemoration of some contest, or of some eminent chief buried on the spot.

A mile from Kirkmichael is the palace (as it is called by courtesy) of the bishops of Man. It is a moderate sized building, well wooded, and standing in the midst of some excellent land, in an improved state of cultivation. The present diocesan is repairing and enlarging the house, and by the interest he takes in agricultural pursuits, will probably afford a beneficial example to the neighborhood, and stimulate their exertions.

There are many barrows in this part of the country, which, in early ages, was frequently the scene of bloodshed and contention, most of the northern invaders having landed at Ramsay. Governor Challoner had several of these tumuli opened, but found only a few urns of clay, and in one, some bones, which had apparently passed the fire.

Two miles north-east of Kirkmichael is the village of Ballaugh, one of the most populous in the island, some manufactories for coarse hats being established there. In this parish is still a good deal of boggy land, intersected by the Currah drain. The farmers have a great advantage in being near marl-pits, which, used as a manure of late years, has been employed to the manifest improvement of the lands. Two miles from Ballaugh is the church of Jurby, almost at

the point of land bearing the same name. The church-yard is on very high ground, and affords an extensive view over the channel to the opposite coast. A cross road leads from hence to Kirk Bride, situated five miles from Ramsay, and two from the point of Ayr.

Between Kirk Bride and Ramsay is Kirk Andreas, a rectory and arch deaconry, of which the old church has within a few years been replaced by a new one: near an ancient seat called Balla Hurry, is the encampment formed by the troops of Oliver Cromwell. The situation is well chosen, it is surrounded by a wide fossé, and has a bastion at each corner, the internal square being sufficiently sunk to secure the soldiers from the fire of the enemy.

The approach to the town of Ramsay lies over a stone bridge of three arches, which crosses the Sulby river. The town is small and irregular, but derives a slight degree of importance from being the seat of justice for the northern district. There is a pier which runs out a few hundred feet to sea, and is terminated by a light-house; the bay is spacious, and the anchorage good, but the harbour, from neglect, has become nearly useless, and will only afford shelter to vessels of very small burthen. The country about Ramsay, as well as the neigh-

bourhood, is far superior to the town; the former being in a high state of cultivation, and chiefly inhabited by native families of considerable respectability, amongst whom a pleasant association is kept up: nor do they so decidedly exclude strangers from all participation in their hospitality, as is sometimes done in other parts of the island.

Provisions are considerably cheaper here than at the southern side, and it is also asserted that the land is much superior, and affords greater promise of advantage to the farmer; against which however, I should fear the want of an immediate and certain market must be more than a counterpoise. Many apple orchards flourish here in great luxuriance, and thorn or quick-set hedges, on most estates, have superceded the stone wall so common in the south.

In proceeding from Ramsay to Maughold you leave the lofty mountain, North Barrule, on the right. Maughold head is a bold promontory, beneath which, under some moss-clad rocks, is a deep spring, much celebrated for its medicinal virtues. These waters were supposed to derive additional efficacy, if drank sitting in the chair of the saint which still remains near the well.

This point, and the adjacent village, take

their name from the venerable person who was there cast ashore, as we have before related, and who, as tradition informs us, made himself a dwelling on the spot where he landed: and where his exemplary piety, and the uncommon severity of his life, attracted such universal reverence, that his solitude was soon invaded by a number of votaries, who, desiring to shelter themselves beneath the protection of his sanctity, or to profit by his example, soon raised a town in his immediate neighbourhood, which became one of the most populous in the island. Of the truth of this legend no evidence remains, except the uncommon dimensions of the church, which greatly exceed those of any other place of worship in the country: and the circumstance of its standing in a space of five acres of consecrated ground, which certainly implies a larger population than that by which it is at present surrounded. Near this church-yard is a pillar of clay slate, on which the figures are so rudely executed, and withal so much defaced, that it offers a full licence to fancy, to ascribe the original design to the most opposite subjects. Some say it is intended to depict the birth, passion, and crucifixion of our Saviour: others discern in it a clear and distinct configuration of the visit of St. Bridget to St. Maughold, when he in-

vested her with the veil. For my own part, I can only wonder at the ingenuity that can discern, in such an heterogeneous mass, a likeness to any thing in heaven or on earth; and I feel rather inclined to think, that the artist employed his chisel under a conscientious recollection of the second commandment.

Passing on towards Laxey, Snowfield rears its venerable head, and invites the traveller to a view which, for its extent, is unrivalled in Great Britain, of which empire this mountain is said to be the exact centre; and a great part of which may be distinctly seen from the top of it. Of Ireland you behold the Arklow mountains, the high point of land on this side the bay of Carlingford, and the hills behind Strangford. Of Wales, the towering Snowdon and great Ormshead, besides a long line of mountains. Of England, part of the coast of Cumberland and Lancashire; and of Scotland, all the high land between Dumfries and Port Patrick. Whilst the Isle of Man itself forms the home view, and is spread out like a map beneath your feet.

Laxey is a village of little trade, composed of about thirty houses, the retreat of fishermen; but the glen is deserving of notice, for the romantic beauty of its scenery. It is well planted with

trees; about half-way up are some copper mines, from whence no great advantages have as yet been derived, though they are occasionally worked; a little way up the valley is a flax spinning-mill, belonging to Messrs. Moore's, of Douglas. Kirk Lonan, the parish church, is a mile from the village; at some distance on the road to Douglas, are twelve stones placed in an oval form; just without the oval are two others, six feet high, one of which is cloven from top to bottom. The whole are erected on a mound of earth, elevated four or five feet; in the centre of which is an excavation seven feet long and three wide: the natives have connected several supernatural tales with this spot, but they give no rational account of its origin—most probably the whole is a remnant of Druidism.

Ken Droghead is a village rather more than two miles from Douglas, of which the parish church is dedicated to St. Onca, the mother of St. Patrick, though the name is usually corrupted to Conchan. This neighbourhood has been held up of late years as an example to the rest of the island, on account of the great and visible improvement effected here by different agriculturists, to which its vicinity to Douglas, and the facility of obtaining manure, have no doubt contributed.

Having now completed the circuit of the island, I have only to notice the inland parish of Maroun, which offers no extraordinary particulars to record. It is intersected by a road leading to St. John's; nearly opposite to the parish church are the walls of a chapel, called St. Trinnian's, said to have been erected in consequence of a vow made by a shipwrecked mariner; and its present ruinous state is ascribed to the malice of the demon by whom this unfortunate had been persecuted, who being restrained from any further personal injury to the sufferer, amused his revenge by throwing off the roof of the new building.

CHAP. XI.

Agriculture—Its great Advance of late Years in the Isle of Man—Scale of Population at different Periods—State of Buildings—Advantages possessed by the Manx Farmer over those of neighbouring Countries—Roads.—Manure—Notice of some particular Improvements effected by Individuals.

THE agriculture of a state, whether large or small, must ever form an interesting consideration, connected as it is with all that relates to domestic ease and independence. Its pursuits have a character different to almost all others, in this money making and money spending world. The returns of the farmer, e're they can be insured, must be sought by a combination of industry, patience, and ingenuity; qua-

lities tending to improve the character of the mind, whilst they are employed to embellish and enrich the surface of the land; if to the wisdom which enables him to discern the best means, he does not add coolness to pursue his end, he has little chance of ultimate success; and if unremitting care and practical economy are wanting, he will still find himself at a distance from the goal—these are very different characteristics to those which commerce demands, in whose service wealth and luxury too frequently becomes the reward of mere enterprise, whilst the unobtrusive and moderate trader is left to pine over disappointed hopes and fruitless efforts. The pursuits of the farmer have this essential advantage, that if the returns are slow they are in a moderate degree certain; and meanwhile, the health both of body and mind may be benefitted by a profession, which, in a peculiar manner, protects its members from contamination of morals, and leads them to look up to that providence, whence only they can derive their success. The farmer more than any one feels, or ought to feel, his dependence on a superior power, awaits his visible operations in the kindly return of the seasons! he claims his bounty in the fruitful shower! and if he thinks at all, he must acknowledge, that though he

may plough and sow, it is beyond his might to ensure any increase.

Again, I conceive that in this class the great virtue of benevolence is a more active principle than in those whose employments shuts them up in a shop or at a desk! The wants of the labourer must ever be visible to his employer: it is his interest to encourage industry and suppress immorality; and it is seldom you see the bustling female who superintends the domestic concerns of the farm-house or yard, forget the sick wife of the cottager, or refuse those little aids which, though hardly missed from her large stores, are yet of infinite benefit to those whose means are limited to the measure of daily wants, without any provision of increased comforts for the hour of sickness.

Perhaps this view of peace and goodness combined with industry, will in England be regarded as drawn from the old school, when farmers moved contentedly in their own sphere, and fulfilled the duties of it, with scrupulous integrity and satisfied humility: when they took their turn at the plough, whilst their wives and daughters exercised their sensibility in the care of the poultry and pigs, and their ingenuity at the spinning wheel; before the possessor of an hundred acres thought it requisite that his

sons should be dashing sportsmen, or his daughters accomplished *young ladies*, and before every thing was given to speculation and theory, and nothing to practice and industry: if this primitive state of things is no longer held in deserved esteem in the wealthy and luxurious state of Great Britain, there is no reason why it may not be restored or preserved in the Isle of Man, where the science is in its infancy, where success may yet crown the persevering endeavours of industry, and both respect and honour attend its progress.

In pursuing this subject I cannot follow a better or more scientific guide than John Christian Curwen, Esq. president of the Workington Agricultural Society, of which the Isle of Man formed a branch, from the year 1809 to 1813. This gentleman being much connected with the country, and having framed his annual reports, on the state of the agricultural interests, upon actual inspection, and great local knowledge, must have been a sufficient judge of the subject: and I trust this general acknowledgment of his authority will supersede the necessity of noticing the particular passages which I may give even in his own words.

Having in the course of my work commented on the great neglect of this useful science, which

subsisted during the earlier times, and on the particular causes whence this inattention to the internal interests of the island originated, I shall only now endeavour to show the progress that has been made under a better system of government, in the last twenty years. At the time of the revestment, nearly all the farms were occupied by native landholders, who cultivated small portions of their estates, and submitted the residue to the undisturbed dominion of heath and gorse. The first advances, as might naturally be expected, took place in the neighbourhood of the four towns, with the exception of those domains occupied by Bishop Wilson, who first raised large supplies of corn and made extensive plantations, now flourishing in their prime and beauty, a lasting memorial, amongst a thousand others, of his judicious skill and care—that his example to a certain extent did produce its proper effect, is proved by the consequences; because, from that era, those seasons of excessive scarcity, which, previous to and even during his life, so frequently recurred in the island, have never been felt with equal severity.

But for the present highly-improved state of the country, the Manx are certainly indebted to the spirited exertions, and superior practice taught them by those of their fellow subjects,

whom they are too fond of separating from themselves by the offensive designation of strangers. It is those strangers who have ascertained the grateful nature of the soil! called forth and applied the various species of manure, which nature, with abundant liberality, had for ages offered in vain to native indolence or prejudice: and by these means have transformed a steril heath into luxuriant corn fields and verdant pasture.

To the same class of visitors, may also be ascribed, the revival of planting, which, if it proceeds a few years more as rapidly as it has done in the last twenty, will render the legend of the naked valleys, and unclothed hills of Man as incredible to future ages, as we now consider the record which describes the druids in their groves, or an army in ambush under shelter of a forest.

Early writers all concur in representing the soil as extremely unfertile, in which account Sacheverell, Rolt, and many later authors agree, without enquiry or examination: since, the present appearances evince, beyond dispute, that the defect lay not in the lands but in the cultivators. It is a truth, that small as the population was forty years back, they got most of their wheaten bread in a manufactured state from

Cumberland; from whence vessels trading to Ireland brought it out, and disposed of it at sea to the Manx boats, then constantly hovering about in pursuit of their established trade; wheat was then hardly raised in the island, and even so late as 1798, when Feltham wrote his tour, he asserts that this grain could not be cultivated with advantage in the island, being from the nature of the soil and other predisposing causes, liable to the smut in such a degree, as to discourage all attempts to introduce it. This error is now fairly corrected by the large crops raised since that time of the cleanest and best quality, as the returns from Liverpool market will prove. The generality of land, in a good situation, well cultivated, will give of oats forty to fifty bushels per acre, of barley the same, and of wheat twenty-five to thirty.

Formerly!—and when on this subject I use that word, to prevent repetition I desire to be understood as meaning within twenty or thirty years. Formerly, the instruments of husbandry were so few, that scarcely twenty carts were to be found in the whole island, and the farmers had no mode of carrying their corn but in kreils fixed on the horses backs.

In the year 1642 Governor Greenhalgh made an ineffectual attempt to introduce the use of

lime as a manure, and having built a kiln, it soon circulated as an article of news that the deputy was actually engaged in a project to burn *stones* for the improvement of the land. The people hastened in crowds to witness the result of this wonderful process, and probably not without some strong doubts of the worthy governor's sanity: when, however, they beheld these masses perfectly reduced by the action of fire, they eagerly resolved to profit by an example, from whence they expected the most beneficial consequences must ensue. *Earth pots* as they were termed were raised in all parts of the island, in which, without reference to quality, every kind of stone, flint, slate, or pebble, were indiscriminately subjected to the same process. For the ill success attending this *judicious* attempt they had an infallible reason to produce, founded on a belief, that the governor had intelligence with the fairies, by whose agency *his* minerals were turned to a powder, whilst those of his cotemporaries were only condensed to a greater degree of hardness.

Of this curious fact many evidences remain, and quantities of calcined stones are frequently found in different parts, which have either been left in heaps or used to fill up drains.

A clear idea of the little profit derived by

proprietors of very large tracts of land from their possessions, may be obtained from a list of the implements in possession of a person who occupied at least four hundred acres of his own estate; for the cultivation of which he had, according to Mr. Curwen's information, one plough and one harrow. In abundant years, the estate produced bread corn (that is, oats and barley), for the family; in failing ones, not that: and the cattle depended on the gorse and furze, with which the land was covered, both for food and shelter: the same estate is now let to a thriving tenant, for a rent of £800. per annum.

Nor is the reign of prejudice and ignorance yet wholly at an end; they have still a strong hold in the minds of some of the natives, and at the time I write there is a tract of excellent land, within three miles of Douglas, held by the proprietor, and surrounded by farms, in such a state of cultivation as must awaken emulation, if that sentiment was not completely smothered; yet the owner of this place is so bigotted to his ancient habits, that, if out of three hundred acres he can raise enough to supply the instant wants of his family, and retain seed for the coming year, he thinks he has done all that foresight and industry can require. The females spin their own wool and flax for clothing,

and at the end of the season they are well satisfied to behold the whole returns consumed, comforting themselves with the hope that there is more coming in: as to a possible failure of their returns, they never calculate on such an event; nor does the future provision for a large family disturb the equanimity of their minds, believing, with primitive simplicity, that sufficient to the day is both the good and evil thereof. The estate by the laws of the land must descend to the next heir, and for the rest of the progeny, during the lives of their parents, they will live at home in unthinking and inactive stupidity, and at their death must turn out, as a matter of course, with no provision but their own labour for support. For all which improvidence, as we should call it, the present proprietor has an unfailing apology and reason, viz. that his father did so before him: that he himself has enjoyed the estate as his due, and his brothers, who were brought up with him, are now in extreme old age, spending the remains of their strength as daily labourers on the roads, or in the neighbouring farms.

But these instances of neglect are becoming every day less frequent, and Mr. Curwen ascribes the change to the advance of trade, the great resort of settlers from other countries, and the

excessive increase of luxury and taxation in Great Britain. The years of scarcity, also, have had here, as elsewhere, their beneficial effects. The great profits made by some farmers, inducing a general spirit of speculation and improvement, which, in ordinary times, it would have taken many years to excite; whilst every tax imposed by the parliament upon Great Britain, operates as a bounty upon Manx agriculture. In all cases, the advance has been commensurate with these causes, as appears from the following comparative statement.

And first, as to the poplulation. Mr. Curwen says, that at the commencement of the last century, the number of inhabitants on the island was under ten thousand. In 1755, he computes them at fifteen thousand. In 1777, only twelve years after the revestment, the numbers had increased to twenty thousand. They are now estimated thirty-five thousand; that this scale is absolutely correct, I am not quite assured. Bishop Wilson wrote a short history of the island some years before his death, which took place in 1755; and certainly no man had better means of ascertaining the real state of the country; he then calculated the population at twenty thousand.

In 1795, the Duke of Athol observes, in his case submitted to the privy council, that the

king, by the revestment, has acquired an increase of thirty thousand subjects. It usually turns out that round numbers are inaccurate, but it is a fact, admitting no dispute, that a great and rapid increase has taken place of late years.

Another visible change appears in the buildings, every where the mud walled cabin and thatched roof are giving place to erections of brick or stone with slated tops. In 1790, there were but four breweries in the island; at this time there are more than thirty, and many of them individually doing more business than the whole collectively at that time. So lately as 1807, three butchers supplied the town and neighbourhood of Douglas, and these only opened their stalls on the market day. There is now a constant supply of meat exhibited by at least twelve competitors. Mealmen and hucksters were recently unknown in the towns, and many consequent inconveniences were felt by private families, who had to seek their corn in large quantities at the farmers, and thence to carry it through the whole process of grinding, and manufacturing for use.

But the most beneficial improvement has been made in the cultivation of garden produce for the market. Ten years back, a cart loaded with vegetables for sale was surrounded as a prodigy,

and never seen except when some of the neighbouring gentlemen collected the refuse of their gardens, and sent it for general distribution; whereas now, many acres round the different towns, but particularly Douglas and Castletown, are cultivated for public use, and the markets are almost overstocked with vegetables, and the common sorts of fruit.

Another evidence to the progress of agriculture appears in the quantity of clover and grass seeds imported; at present the gross annual amount exceeds £1000 in value; twenty years past they did not reach to £20, and even within five years not to £500.; in producing these various benefits, the institution of an agricultural society has been of essential service, for which measure the inhabitants are wholly indebted to Mr. Curwen, though their efforts are no longer conducted under his auspices, and it is to be feared, that they may languish in future for the want of some such spirited and experienced leader. In one of his reports he mentions, with very natural exultation, that when he attended an annual meeting at St. John's, in 1810, the assemblage of gentlemen and farmers greatly exceeded his expectations, whilst the interest and spirit which marked the proceedings, evinced the impression that was made upon the public mind, and

proved that the views of the society referred to objects connected equally with the profits of the landed proprietor, and the good of the public at large.

A very material advantage appertains to the Manx farmer, in his freedom from all poor's rates, as well as other taxes, the poor being wholly maintained by voluntary contribution. Land rent has certainly risen, particularly near the towns, to its full value, and should the present depreciation of farm produce continue, it must necessarily fall. The soil, though neither very luxuriant nor of great depth, yet makes generally a grateful return, if frequently renewed or stimulated by manure, and this operation is much facilitated by the abundance of wrack or sea weed* thrown up on the sands, and which has been found for a single crop to answer every purpose produced by more substantial manures, and the easiness with which lime is procured by water carriage round the coast is highly favourable to exertion. Mr. Curwen observed with pleasure and surprise, how much the cultivation

* Sea weed does not answer so well in compost of soil or mould only, the decomposition being less rapid; but it is admirable with stable-dung, or even with straw, either of these promoting immediate fermentation, but in no case will it combine with lime.

of green crop had increased between the years 1809 and 1812, when he made his last visit.

Till lately, the importation of sheep was limited to one hundred annually from England; by the interference of Mr. Curwen the number has been increased to five hundred, and he confidently asserts, that the manufacture of woollens will ere long be the staple commodity of the island; only one establishment for this purpose exists at present, which is conducted with skill and spirit, and I believe amply rewards the care and industry of its proprietor,* who is also a very considerable planter, and in all his undertakings exhibits a patriotic, independent, and active mind, equally beneficial to the country, of which he is a native, and honourable to himself.

The quantities of grain cultivated in the last few years have been such, as to supersede the necessity of importing that article, notwithstanding the increased population. The rate of labour is as yet very moderate, being much under that established on the opposite counties of Cumberland and Lancashire. Potation crops are now well understood; cleaning the land is very strictly attended to by many farmers, and

* Mr. W. Kelly.

from its obvious good consequences will doubtless soon become the general practice. Improvement of live stock has, of late, been an object of emulation amongst the graziers, and there are several dairy farms, admirably managed, in various parts of the island.

The small breed of horses, for which the Manx, in common with the out isles, was once famous, is now almost extinct; but there is no deficiency of such as answer well for purposes of husbandry, and even those for the saddle are of late much improved; but although, in the particulars I have mentioned, much has been done, it is nevertheless indisputable that much yet remains to be effected, and the impartiality I have promised demands a fair statement on both sides. One of the greatest impediments to successful exertion in agricultural pursuits, is found in the state of the public roads. In the vicinity of Douglas, and also near to Castletown and Ramsay, these have been put into a much better state than they formerly were; but in many parts of the island they are in a most deplorable condition, and sadly increase both the labour and expence of the farmer; the great error seems to consist in the manner repairs are attempted, which is simply by carting a few loads of stones wherever a deep hole or rut calls for such a sup-

ply, and leaving it to the action of carriages to crush or level them, instead of following the mode adopted in England of spreading and binding the solid material with a layer of earth or gravel. It is generally admitted, that the funds appropriated to the maintenance of the high roads are abundantly sufficient, if they were placed under due superintendence; but it generally happens, that the overseers are men little acquainted with the proper methods of performing their duty, and besides that, they have usually distinct occupations and private concerns, which fill up their whole time, and renders it impossible they should perform their duty to the public so fully as they ought to do.

The herring fishery is another impediment to farming. At the time when an increase of hands are most wanted by the cultivator, he is left wholly to the aid he can derive from feminine assistance, by which alone he is to cut and carry in his harvest, whilst hundreds of stout young men are awaiting the arrival of the fish in listless idleness, or dissipating their *expected* gains in drunkenness; for such is the infatuation which the "herring fever" (as Mr. Curwen styles it) produces, that some weeks before the time it is expected to commence, and the whole period after it has begun, even on days when the

weather or other causes prevent all possibility of fishing, they will on no account, not even for an hour, embark in any other pursuit. No one in their senses would recommend, that the fishery should be relinquished altogether, on the contrary, it must be admitted, that the pursuit is a most essential benefit to the island, and causes an influx of money, which gives life to every occupation. But I am warranted, by the concurrence of the best informed persons, in saying that it is ill-conducted, and that one-half the men, who are at present engaged in it, would, under proper regulations, take as much fish as the whole number do at this time. The difference to the agriculturist of the additional hands thus obtained, at the season of harvest, is evident, as well as the increased profit to individuals, since the advance on the price of manual labour, at this season, holds out as fair a return as can be derived from the fishery, all expences and extravagances included.

But if the male part of the population are irretrievably devoted to gathering in the harvest by sea, it is but justice to say, that the females endeavour, by the utmost industry, to supply their place on shore. Nothing can exceed the activity and cheerfulness with which they undertake and effect labours apparently exceeding

their physical strength, particularly in reaping, thrashing, &c. Another great fundamental inconvenience exists, in the want of an established market for disposing of farm produce. At present the grower, having no certain sale for his crops, must lose much time in seeking customers, before he can raise money for his rent or current expences; and the prices, in these cases, are too often arbitrarily regulated by the measure of his wants, rather than by the value of his commodities. Some adopt the mode of exporting their produce to Liverpool, or Whitehaven, where the returns may be more certain and prompt, but these are subject to severe drawbacks, from the risk at sea, and the heavy charges of freight and factors.

With the grazier the case is still worse: fat cattle can never be shipped without incurring great danger of deterioration from a lengthened voyage; and in the island, the consumption is too small to encourage extensive speculations in this line, nor are the butchers willing to give even such prices as their returns would fully warrant; this has been so much a subject of complaint, that some farmers have even opened shops to retail their own meat, of whom only one has found the plan either practicable or advantageous. There is no doubt, however, but a little

public spirit and unanimity would overcome this impediment, if the principal farmers would unite here, as in other places, to establish a regular market for corn and cattle: buyers would soon arrive from the opposite coasts, and then the prices also would be fixed by general agreement.

I am not aware of any other material disadvantage which the farmer has to encounter in this island, that can in any degree counterpoise the peculiar benefits held out, except one, which is indeed of serious importance, but to which I cannot help thinking the wisdom of the Manx legislature will ere long apply a sufficient remedy. I speak of the laws as they are now constituted, first, with relation to persons not natives of the land; and next, as they regard the landlord and tenant, but on this subject I shall expatiate more at large under the proper division.*

If those heroes who have depopulated nations are allowed still to occupy a distinguished place in the history of states and empires, surely, in a confined space like the Isle of Man, which is too small a theatre for magnificent actions, we may

* See Laws.

be allowed to celebrate those who have, to the extent of their power, exerted themselves to benefit and improve the little circle within their influence; and to my humble conception, there seems to be at least as much praise due to the conqueror of sterility as to the depopulator of nations. In the first class of those, coming under the former description, no one can deserve more honourable mention than the tenant of Ronaldsway, near Derby Haven, whose farm exhibits a scene of neatness and superior cultivation greatly to be admired: his vicinity to a lime-stone quarry, and the quantity of wrack deposited at his very door, are sources which, as he applies them, must produce wealth to him, and benefit to the community. Mr. Faulder is also unrivalled in the extent and excellence of his stock, and is the farmer, of whom I spoke before, as having successfully undertaken to retail his own meat: from his stores Castletown is abundantly supplied with animal food; the superiority of his mode of feeding is obvious, from the article he offers to the public, and, in fact, there is so much integrity and judgment in his proceedings, as well as a spirit and activity, that all are ready to allow his success, great as it is, is only commensurate with his exertions and deserts.

There are few persons, however, who could at once embrace so many objects of speculation, as are encountered by the ardent spirit of this gentleman, who, besides supplying all the bodily wants of his neighbour from his dairy, his shambles, and his granary, has actually undertaken to cultivate the minds of the rising generation, and for this purpose he has established an academy, where, under the care of a tutor, he receives about twenty pupils, besides his own numerous progeny.

Mr. Coulthard is also a farmer, whose labours are worthy of notice, he has been long an object of emulation as well as admiration to his cotemporaries, and had at one time a fair prospect of receiving his merited reward from the hand of fortune; but having, unfortunately for himself, incurred the displeasure of his landlord, who is too powerful in this island to be offended with impunity, the farmer has, in consequence been condemned to ascertain, in his own person, how far the laws, as they now stand, may be made the instruments of oppression. Should he eventually sink in the contest, which he has maintained as a man and a Briton, he will have the regret of all ranks to console him under his unmerited misfortunes.

One of the best dairy farms is occupied by a gentleman of the name of Dunlop, who is remarked for the uncommon beauty of his stock, the extent of his crops, and the general air of success and abundance which follows his operations; notwithstanding all which, and that his calculations are made with mathematical precision, and his plans followed up with undeviating strictness, yet such is the result, that either from real disappointment, or a natural tendency of mind to murmur and complain, he never speaks but in the tone of complaint; and I verily believe, if plenty should pour out her whole stores at his feet, he would still grumble that she did not leave him the cornucopia also.

Mr. Curwen says of the north side of the island, that it offers much the greatest facilities for farming; the ground is in a state of nature; the means of enriching it are at hand; exertion, capital, and industry, are alone wanting to cover with luxuriant crops, that surface which, at present, yields little or nothing: the truth of this estimate is about to be proved. Several spirited settlers have, of late, fixed their abode in that district, and amongst them, the present bishop, who takes a lively interest in all agricultural concerns; but, as yet, the improvements are too new to be entered upon record, and it is only in

the neighborhood of Castletown and Douglas that we can form an estimate of the capabilities of the soil.

Hitherto, I have spoken only of persons who rent the lands of others, and consequently have a *present* advantage to draw from their exertions. But there is another class lately sprung up amongst the natives, with whom profit is a subordinate consideration; and where the chief attention is fixed on ornamental husbandry amongst these, a general taste for planting seems to prevail. The seat of Major Taubman is an example very likely to have excited this spirit. The trees there of an old growth, are uncommonly fine, and the whole scene, as we have before observed, forms an agreeable contrast to the barren hills by which it is surrounded.

Several other places embellish the neighbourhood of Douglas, and give fair promise of future beauty, though none, with the exception of Mona Castle, can be classed above the rate of middling gentlemen's houses in England; yet they diversify the face of the country, and their small lawns and paddocks, spotted with clumps of new planted shrubs, will soon form a very pretty scenery. It has been the work of time to efface a prejudice generally entertained, that the vicinity to the sea would be completely unfavorable

to trees; but the contrary has at length been decidedly proved, wherever the experiment has been fairly made. Perhaps no kind of improvers are more easily checked than planters; their efforts must always be disinterested, since the real benefit or comfort can only be reaped by posterity; and it should, therefore, be attended with some degree of certainty, to compensate for its distance. Nor is it fair always to ascribe failures to a radical defect, either in the soil or situation. Trees, injudiciously managed, either from neglect or ignorance, might equally as well perish in the finest parks in Great Britain, as on the most steril mountain in the Isle of Man; and it is most true, that an unsuccessful attempt in a place where all eyes have been fixed on the result, with an inward inclination to believe it would not answer, has an effect to repress simliar endeavors, when, if the real source of the disappointment was taken into the account, it might rather stimulate than paralyze their hopes.

It is well known in the island, that an English gentleman, of considerable property, bought an extensive track of mountain-land in the interior, not less than fifteen hundred acres; and when he cast his eyes over the wide spread domain, his imagination pictured such a fairy vision of beauty and fertility, as entirely overcame the

sobriety of his judgment. In his first speculations, he promised himself a mansion embowered in groves, fields, white with his ever-increasing flocks, roads, rivers, canals, and bridges. He calculated not merely on supplying the wants of a paltry thirty thousand inhabitants in food and clothing, but actually extended his philanthropic views to the starving nations of the arctic circle, who were to be rescued from the dominion of want and cold, with the surplus of his abundant stores.

In less time than ordinary abilities, with ordinary means would ask to reclaim a heath or a bog, and turn them into arable and pasture land, he undertook to have forests waving, and rivers flowing, through the whole compass of his property; and no sooner had his active mind overcome one difficulty in speculation, than he conjured up others to resist and to conquer. I forbear to dwell on his proposal for importing the musk oxen, on which he expatiated at an agricultural meeting, with all the warmth of his character, as replete with offered benefits to the community, and only attended by two or three trifling obstacles, the first of which was founded in the difficulty of importing these animals, and keeping them alive when imported; the other he thought still less consequential, being merely the

possibility that prejudice *might* revolt from the taste of musk beef.

Projects so patriotic and extensive, deserved a better fate, and I grieve to record their evaporation in complete disappointment. The trees, it is true, were planted with an unsparing hand, and the sheep, purchased from an overflowing purse, combining the choicest breeds, selected from all parts of Great Britain, and the greatest pains were exerted to insure their safe arrival. So far all was hope and exultation; the natives assembled in crowds to view these precious treasures—to admire the plaids of the Highland shepherds, who came from the Cheviot Hills to guard their fleecy care; and they believed the owner of such wealth and such wonders must be almost as great a man as their far-famed Prince Mananan, with his fogs and his fairies.

Whilst the summer smiled, the sheep grazed on the fragrant heath, and the young plants took root unmolested; but, alas! no sooner did winter assert his reign, than all was want and dismay; for, till the snow actually bespread the ground, the necessity of providing for such an astonishing event had never entered the thoughts of this admirable projector. For a while, the animals preserved their existence by brousing on the buds of the infant plantations, and the tops of

the young firs; but these were soon destroyed, and with them all hope of future shade or shelter. Next, the sheep fell victims to disease, and, lastly, the promises of philanthropy, with the visions of speculative profit, all sunk together in irretrievable ruin. Happily, however, this failure, instead of annihilating the hopes of our mountain-laird, has only turned them into another channel; he is now eagerly bent on the cultivation of flax, to which his whole domain is to be subjected; and he waits only till he has tried the effect of a new invention for dressing this article, before he will erect a factory, build a town, cover the mountain with artificers, and supply all Europe with linen cloths. There is so much vivacity of genius, such a grasp of benevolence, and such genuine public spirit, in all these designs, combined as they are by the gentleman in question, with repeated acts of solid use to this community, of which he is an acknowledged benefactor, that those who witness their failure, must still respect the source whence they originate, and that charity indeed be cold, that does not wish him success, though the faith must be strong that can hope it.

Much expectation of beneficial example was excited in the friends of Man, when Colonel Mark Wilkes, a native of the island, and a gen-

tleman well known in the higher walks of literature, returned from the East Indies with a fortune, earned by uncommon talents judiciously applied, and promised his countrymen to devote the residue of his days to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. Unfortunately for the Manx, his talents were too well known and appreciated to admit of this seclusion, his services were again demanded in the government of St. Helena, whither he returned in the year 1812. However he might at first regret this disturbance of his domestic arrangements, he will doubtless be reconciled by the great events in which he has now become a party. To his care for a short time is consigned the disturber of the peace of Europe, and it will be impossible to accept with indifference the honor of guarding even for a few months so distinguished a captive.

Colonel Wilkes is erecting a mansion in the Isle of Man, on an extensive scale, though I cannot help thinking, if it had been conducted under his own inspection, a better taste would have been displayed, especially as the farm-houses, offices, and cottages, built by himself upon his estate, are raised on plans so chaste, as to add much to the rural beauty of the scenery, and form a decided contrast to the cumbrous mass appointed for his own future habitation. In

the short space of three years, that part of the country belonging to Colonel Wilkes has been converted from a barren waste, not worth half-a-crown an acre, to luxuriant arable and pasture land, great part of it letting at £2.

There are doubtless many other individuals in the island, who may justly claim distinction as improvers in this valuable science, but it would be tedious to general readers to dwell longer on the subject; to sum up the whole, I believe it is universally admitted, that a great, and for the time, an astonishing progress has been made; that the approaches of insular distress are nearly fenced out, and that the few obstacles which remain, must shortly give way to the awakened spirit of inquiry, industry, and emulation now prevailing in the country.

CHAP. XII.

Herring Fishery, and Trade in general.

THE herring trade being the staple commodity, must be first noticed. It has hitherto been considered as an established fact in natural history, that the appearance of the herring on the different coasts of Europe in the summer season, was in consequence of migration. Their progress from the cold regions of the north has been detailed with singular precision; they have been marshalled in large bodies, or sent out in detachments, as the fancy or information of Zoologists dictated; but late inquirers strongly question this progress from distant parts, and rather incline to the belief that the herring, like the mackarel, is in reality at no great distance dur-

ing the winter months from those shores which it frequents in the season of spawning, inhabiting only the deep recesses of the ocean, or plunging itself in the soft mud at the bottom; but that at the vernal season it quits the deeper parts, and approaches the shallows in order to deposit its spawn in proper situations.

The reasons given by Dr. Block are chiefly these: that it is physically impossible this fish should traverse so many thousands of miles in so short a time. That in one or other part of Europe, herrings may be found all through the year; on the coasts of Swedish Pomerania from January to March. In the Baltic sea, and many other places from March to November! About Gothland, and also on the coast of France, from October to December. The fishermen of Scarborough scarcely ever throw a net in any season of the year without finding herrings among their fish.

But by whatever means, or from whatever cause they are conducted by the hand of providence to the different coasts on which they are periodically seen, no where can their arrival be welcomed with greater avidity than at the Isle of Man, where a new spirit seems to inform the population as soon as the fishery commences. Between four and five hundred boats, usually of

sixteen tons burthen each, and without decks, are employed in this service. These are manned by two seamen and four countrymen, who come from their inland habitations at this season, which commences about the end of July, and continues through the month of October. The nets are buoyed up by inflated bags of dog-skin. The produce of a boat is commonly divided into nine shares, one of which appertains to each fisherman, the owner of the boat takes two, and the proprietor of the nets one.

The fishing is very frequently interrupted: the least appearance of a change in the weather, hurries them instantly to port. Indeed, the boats are by no means calculated for encountering a storm, or even a severe gale; and some deplorable accidents which have happened in former seasons are still remembered as warnings against encountering similar dangers; nor are they solely restrained by fear, from constant exertion, dissipation is quite as frequently a bar to their pursuits: a very successful night is almost sure to be followed by drunkenness and consequent inability to attempt a repetition of their good fortune. They are also scrupulously careful not to leave the harbour on Saturday or Sunday evening. Tradition has preserved a story, that in former times they had a custom only to

except Saturday from the pursuit of business, but that with the setting sun of the following evening, it was the practice to put to sea. On one of these occasions a tremendous gale accompanied by thunder and lightning, signals of divine vengeance, dispersed the boats, a great part of which were speedily buried in the waves, the remainder took shelter in the recess of an impending cliff, and before morning were overwhelmed by its fall. The warning has been accepted by the inhabitants of Man, who in this respect, at least, are careful not to intrench upon the Sabbath day.

The view of this little fleet at sea on a calm day is highly beautiful. They always throw their nets in the night, and on their return to the harbour next morning, children and women are employed to convey the fish to the several receiving houses where the operation of salting is immediately performed, as much of the excellence of the herring is thought to depend on the speedy performance of this process. The Dutch and the Scotch, (in imitation of them,) have adopted the practice of salting the fish on board the vessels, and of throwing overboard at sunrise all that remain fresh; but in this island they proceed on the old plan. The fish are rubbed as soon as brought in, and left in heaps till the

following morning, when they are regularly packed in barrels, with a layer of salt between each row. Those designed for red herrings are differently treated; they are first piled up with layers of salt for two or three days, after which they are washed and hung up by the gills upon small rods, placed in extensive houses built for the purpose, where the rods are suspended in rows from the roof to within eight feet of the floor; underneath are kindled wood fires, which are kept constantly burning till the fish are sufficiently dry and smoked, after which they are barreled for exportation.

The number of herrings annually cured in the island is subject to considerable variation, but is calculated at an average of between eight and ten millions. The present price of fresh herrings varies from ten to twenty for a shilling; and for those that are cured, two guineas the barrel is the average price. A barrel contains about six hundred.

Formerly premiums were given to the owners of successful boats, and certain bounties upon all that were exported to foreign lands; but both are discontinued.

The chief exports from the island, besides herrings, are strong linens and sail-cloth, but in no large quantities, there being but one fac-

tory for making these articles, and that on a small scale. Considerable supplies of grain have of late years been sent to Liverpool, with butter, eggs, fowls, bacon, and some other trifling matters. There is, as I observed before, a manufactory of woollens, but these are eagerly bought up for home consumption as fast as they can be finished. Some years back an attempt was made to establish a mill for cotton spinning; but after the erection of the works, the proprietors made a rather late discovery, that the exportation of the article to Great Britain was prohibited, and after some ineffectual endeavours to convert the works to other purposes, the whole were suffered to go to ruin: nor do I imagine that manufactories on a large scale can ever answer here under present circumstances. England usually allows a large drawback on manufactured goods, which in their raw state are subjected to heavy duties, in order to preserve her trade in foreign markets. The population of the Isle of Man, considering the fishery, is not at all too abundant for the existing occupations of the country; or if it were, the vicinity to the manufacturing counties of England, where labor is always rewarded with high wages, leaves no chance of competition for any insular establishments, except for the internal supply.

For some years past the inland trade has been much more flourishing than it now is. Since the non-protection act there are, particularly in Douglas, more shops than customers; but it is to be hoped this will revive again, or indeed very serious consequences may be apprehended. At all times the balance of trade is greatly against the island, but this has hitherto been counterpoised by the income brought in from other countries through the medium of persons settling here; and now that this source is closed up, the distress for want of a due circulation is very severely felt. Gold coin is hardly ever seen, silver is also very scarce, the copper being peculiar to the country is more stationary: fourteen-pence Manx makes one shilling British. To obviate this great want of a currency, the merchants and shopkeepers issue cards of five shillings, two shillings and sixpence, and one shilling each, nominal value; these are in the form of promissory notes, payable on demand in British coin; but they are found to be attended with so many inconveniences and such great risk to the public, that it is at present under contemplation of the legislature to make some regulations on this subject, and probably before long the British government will grant an issue of Manx coinage.

Some of the principal merchants in Douglas also circulate guinea notes, but the only regular bank established in the island is at Castletown, and the notes and cards of this house, from its known stability, obtain a natural and decided preference, The whole establishment is conducted on a scale of liberality very honourable to the proprietors and advantageous to the public, though it is often regretted that the gentlemen concerned in it, have not established a branch at Douglas, where the great commerce is carried on for the whole island.

The imports are all kinds of manufactured goods, chiefly from Liverpool; coal from thence, and from the ports in Cumberland: wine from Oporto and Guernsey, from whence also they get geneva and brandy: rum must pass through an English or Scotch port. Since the year 1765, the contraband trade has been nearly annihilated; the little that is now done in that way, is supposed to be by coasting vessels; but the custom-house department is so admirably conducted under the vigilant superintendence of the present collector, that it is generally believed the revenue is quite as well protected as at any of the ports of Great Britain.

The shops in the different towns have much the appearance of general storehouses, each one

exhibiting an aggregate of articles not always calculated for combination; nor can I give the dealers in general, particularly the natives, the praise of civility, or a desire to accommodate. Persons accustomed to the obliging manners of English tradesmen, are in general much disgusted with the air of inattention and disrespect so prevalent here, especially in those who have realized some property, or as it is usually termed, got a little above the world.

Some of the existing laws* are considered as great obstacles to traffic with other countries, or even to an extended trade amongst themselves. On one hand, the stranger is exposed to imprisonment and sequestration of property for the smallest sum, whilst the native is protected from incarceration for the largest. The want of regular bankrupt laws also tends to cripple the efforts of the trader; and in many respects the fundamentals of commerce are neither understood nor acted upon, especially in what relates to credit and punctuality in money dealings; but all these defects, I think, are in a course of rapid improvement. Every day brings with it a visible enlargement of ideas,

* See Laws.

and as the disadvantages are felt they will be overcome.

The manufactories for internal consumption, besides that already mentioned for woollen cloths, are breweries, soap and candle manufactories, and tanneries. The brewer and maltster are combined in one, and all these being free from duties of every kind, must necessarily leave an open field for great profits, especially as the prices of the articles manufactured are nearly as high as in England, where they are subject to such heavy charges, and in consequence one would expect that large fortunes would be speedily realized by those entering on these concerns; but I believe, especially of late years, that the numbers engaged are rather too many for the consumption, and the payments of the publican and others too irregular to admit of the full advantages to be expected.

There are few shops, and not many houses occupied by the lower orders, where spirits are not sold either in large or small quantities. The smuggling trade introduced habits of intoxication, which still prevail to an extent the most lamentable; and nothing but a heavy duty, producing a consequent advance of price, will probably counteract this evil tendency.

Most of the small farmers and cottagers still

spin their own wool and flax, and get them made into cloth by village weavers, there being generally one or two looms in every parish; these practices are favourable to economy, and encourage domestic industry, whilst they preserve the simplicity of the peasants.

CHAP. XIII.

The Revenue—Exports and Imports.

THE revenue under the lords, proprietors, arose from a duty on exports and imports, a rental on all lands, amounting to 1400l. Manks currency, from manorial rights and fines, a few fees, and certain prerogatives, by which the lords laid claim to all waifs and strays. In the time of the last Earl of Derby, the customs were estimated at 2500l. per annum. The public expenditure at the same period was 700l. In the course of the last century smuggling had increased so much, that the annual returns of this trade were supposed to be at least 350,000l. whilst the value of seizures was not more than 10,000l. so that the profits to those engaged in it must have been enormous; and the Duke of Athol having a small duty on imports from this and other

sources, procured for his share an annual surplus of nearly 6000l. British. An abstract of the clear revenue derived from the island by the lord, for ten years previous to the revestment, states the average yearly amount to be £7293.

The revenues given up to Great Britain were only those of the customs and herring dues, amounting to 6547l. for which the sum of 70,000l. was allowed. After the revestment, all the old duties were repealed, and the following new ones levied.

To be imported from England only, and there entitled to the usual Drawback, to be landed at Douglas only, in the Isle of Man.

	DUTY.		QUANTITY.
	s.	*d.*	
British spirits	1	0 per gal. - -	50,000 gal.
Rum - - -	1	6 - - - - -	30,000
Bohea Tea -	1	0 per lb. - -	20,000 lb.
Green Tea -	1	6 - - - - -	5000
Coffee - -	0	9 - - - - -	5000
Tobacco - -	0	2 - - - - -	120,000
Coals - - -	0	3 per chaldron.	

From Foreign Ports.

Hemp
Iron
Deal Boards
Timber
} at 5 per cent. ad valorem.

French wine 4l. per tun.

Any other wine 2l. per tun.

Foreign corn, having been first imported into England, and had a bounty allowed, 10 per cent. ad valorem.

Any goods, wares, or merchandize, not specified in this Act, imported from England or Ireland, 2 per cent. ad valorem.

Flax
Flax seed
Yarn
Ashes
Fish and flesh
Corn

} except only from Great Britain. } Duty free.

Linen cloth of British or Irish fabric
Hemp
Hemp seed
Horses and cattle
Utensils & implements of agriculture
Bricks and tiles
Trees, sea shells, and lime
Soaper's waste
Packthread and cordage
Salt
Boards
Timber
Hoops

} Produce or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland in English vessels only. } Duty Free.

Colonial goods entitled to a bounty on importation into England.

English or colonial iron, in rods or bars, from Great Britain in British vessels.

} Duty free, but subject to entry at the custom-house, under a penalty of 15 per cent. ad valorem.

All linens to be landed in the Isle of Man must be exported from Great Britain or Ireland.

Glass and woollen goods from Great Britain.

Tea, coffee, spirits, tobacco, glass, coals, silks, salt, and wine, must, on no pretence, be exported from the island.

It being found, that, in consequence of the suppression of the contraband trade, the harbours had been neglected and become ruinous, the old duties were repealed, and the following levied:

HARBOUR DUES.

	Per annum. s.	d.	
Herring boats	10	0	Not a new duty, but a modification of the old one.
Any ships belonging to his Majesty's subjects in ballast, only putting into the harbour	0	1½	per ton.
The same with cargo . .	0	2	

	s.	d.	
The same if repaired there, an additional sum	0	1	per ton.
Foreign ships in ballast .	0	2	
Ditto with cargo, not breaking bulk	0	3	
Ditto breaking bulk, additional duty	0	2	
Ditto anchoring in any of the bays	2	6	
On all spirits and wines imported, per tun	2	6	
Tobacco, per cwt. . . .	1	6	
Tea, per cwt.	2	0	
Coffee, ditto	1	0	

Foreign goods not specified, 10 per cent. ad valorem.

British goods not specified, salt excepted, 5 per cent. ditto.

At this time the expenditure of the island exceeded the revenues, and in consequence the following additional duties were imposed in 1780.

Rum, 6d. per gallon, making the whole duty 2s.

Tobacco, 1d. per pound, ditto 2d.

Hemp, iron, deal, boards, and timber, from foreign parts, 5 per cent. ad valorem, making the whole 7½ per cent.

French wines, £4. per tun additional.

Other wine, £2. ditto, ditto.

The duties on tea and coffee were withdrawn, and the following substituted.

	s.	d.	
Bohea tea	0	6	per lb.
Green tea	1	0	
Coffee	0	4	

The allowance of British spirits being more than the demand, were reduced from fifty thousand gallons to forty thousand; and the allowance of rum increased from thirty thousand to forty thousand gallons, thirty thousand to be imported from England, and ten thousand from Scotland.

The importation of wine in any vessel of less value than seventy tons' burthen was prohibited.

No goods, fresh fish excepted, were allowed to be exported from the Isle of Man without a warrant from the custom-house.

In 1790 the importation of British spirits was prohibited, but instead of them were allowed, ten thousand gallons of brandy, subject to a duty of 3s. per gallon; ten thousand ditto of geneva, ditto 3s. ditto.

To be shipped from England to Douglas only, in easks containing not less than one hundred gallons.

The annual allowance of tobacco having been reduced from one hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight to forty thousand, was increased to sixty thousand.

All wine was subjected to an additional duty of £8. per tun, making, with the former duty, £16. for French wines, and £12. for other wines, and to be landed at Douglas only.

Hops, entitled on exportation from England to a drawback of the whole duty, were made subject to a duty of 1½d. per lb.

Since this period little variation in the duties have been made; all goods of limited quantity must be imported under licence; the collector of customs is obliged to give one month's notice of the expiration of licences, and take in for fourteen days all petitions for new ones; if such of the petitioners as are natives require goods equal to the quantity limited, they have the preference over foreigners; if they require a greater quantity, the licences are granted in rateable proportions: the counterfeiting a licence subjects the offender to a fine of five hundred pounds; and taking a fee for one, subjects the collector or officer to a penalty of fifty pounds.

From the sale of the island to the year 1792, the expenditure was fully equal to the revenue; at that time commissioners were sent over to ex-

amine into the state of the country, as well as to ascertain whether certain allegations of the Duke of Athol were well or ill-founded. In the course of their inquiry, they discovered that the custom-house department was in a state of entire disorganization; their memorial on this subject states, that the system of management is ill-digested, incomplete, and unfit, of which, amongst others, they adduce the following proofs. That persons, wholly ignorant of the duties and practices of their several departments, are appointed to stations of the first importance, without any previous instruction or preparation.

That even the obvious precaution of furnishing them with written or printed rules for their government had been neglected, nor was any source pointed out whence information could be derived, or any security given or required, for the due performance of the duties of the office, or the proper application of the trust reposed in them; no inquiry was ever instituted as to character, so as to exclude those who had been formerly in the practice of the illicit trade, nor was there any check or controul among the different officers, by which error or misconduct might be discovered or punished.

It was also, at that time, the practice to bestow various offices (not easily combined) on one

person. The receiver-general, though an officer of the highest authority, had never been in the island from the time he took the oaths, when he remained a few days, leaving the whole execution of the duties to a deputy, who was, as he acknowledged, completely without any instructions to define the objects, nature, and extent of his office; his practice was to receive the duties, and transmit them through the agency of a lawyer in London to his principal, and he did not actually know where this last resided, or how he might make application to him directly; nay, that he had even at different times required directions in his proceedings through the agent, but had received neither instructions or answer.

Various other instances of neglect, equally striking with these, are pointed out, and strongly reprobated in the Report, and as it appears with the fullest effect, for very soon after the whole system was revised and altered, most of the existing officers displaced or otherways provided for, and the present establishment arranged to the entire extirpation of the illicit trade in the island. The office of receiver-general was given to the collector of customs at Douglas, and the whole revenue of the island placed under his superintendence and controul.

This extensive power, which he has now held

many years, is universally allowed to be exercised with the strictest integrity as well as moderation, and the gentleman who holds it, though closely connected with the house of Athol, is pronounced, by the unanimous concurrence of all parties, to be eminently qualified by principle, knowledge, and prudence for the station he occupies. No stronger proof of the excellence of the plans now adhered to can be adduced, than the improved state of the revenue; according to the report before quoted, the amount of custom dues in 1790, was £3006. 8s. 11d. the expenditure same year £3272. 2s. 2d.; whereas, in 1792, Mr. Pitt stated in the House of Commons, that the revenue of the island had arisen to the gross sum of £12,000. per annum! at which time a farther compensation of one-fourth of this amount was granted to the Duke of Athol, and his heirs for ever.

The public services, for which internal taxes, continual or occasional, are levied, are of four sorts. Building or repairing of churches, building of bridges, making and keeping high roads in order, and the maintenance of the clergy. In respect to churches each parish is obliged to bear its own burthen, not however to the extent of building, without a special act of Tynwald; but for repairs, the parishioners are convened by

the churchwardens, and the money required levied upon the inhabitants in proportion to their rental.

The same mode is observed for building or repairing bridges. The high road fund is derived from a tax upon every retailer of ale or spirits; a small rate upon lands and houses, leaving an option to pay in money or service; a tax upon dogs; and all fines incurred for public offences or contempt of court; by these means collecting a sum of about £1000. per annum is obtained for making and repairing the roads.

The clergy derive their income in part from the tithes, which are divided into three portions, one belonging to the lord, one to the bishop, and the other to the parochial minister: the incumbents have also a glebe, and a royal bounty of £100. per annum, to divide amongst the poorest, which was obtained by Bishop Barrow in the reign of Charles II.; one-third of his share of the impropriations was purchased by the same worthy prelate from the lord proprietor, by collections made through his interference which were settled to increase the revenues of the church, and for the establishment of a free school at Castletown.

The tithes are divided into great and small; these are sometimes taken in kind, but more fre-

quently commuted, and hitherto upon very easy terms. There was formerly a tithe upon all fresh fish, upon ale brewed, and also a tithe of two-pence annually upon every man engaged in any occupation, though he only exercised his calling three times in the year.

CHAP. XIV.

The Laws—House of Keys—Civil Officers, Juries, &c.

THE laws of the Isle of Man are, at this time, a constant subject of insular dispute; by one party, they are represented as a mass of folly and corruption; by the other, as models of the most perfect jurisprudence. The truth, probably, in this, as in other speculative cases, lies in a medium between the two opinions.

From the time of the revestment, the legislation being protected by that act from all foreign interference, few corrections or alterations have taken place. The ruling powers, divided by internal and personal contention, have suffered the public good to lie dormant. It was enough to insure opposition. That a proposal of amendment originated on the other side, and the rival

powers were too equally balanced to afford a triumph to either. Even in the boasted constitution of Great Britain, the watchful eye of legislative wisdom is ever open to discern and correct mistakes or encroachments: how, then, can it be supposed that a code, springing out of feudal customs and an arbitrary government, should require neither amelioration or improvement in the long interval of sixty years; for, if nothing else demanded inquiry in all that time, still the persons employed in the exercise of power, should have been subjected to some inquiry as to their proceedings, and if not the principle, at least the practice, of the legislature demanded investigation.

For a small population thinly scattered over the island, without manufactories or commerce, few laws were requisite, and the memory might be supposed fully competent to record all that was absolutely necessary.

Except the natives, none had any interest or concern in them. In such a community, whose time was wholly occupied in the provision of mere necessaries, fraud, force, or avarice, had no latitude for disturbing the peace of society; and the trifling differences which sprung up, were willingly referred to the deemster, and settled by the traditionary laws, or, perhaps, more fre-

quently by his supreme will and pleasure, without reference to precedents of any sort.

So little form was used in these appeals, that, according to the statute-book, the deemster's presence alone, whether in the field or house, walking or riding, constituted a court, and the plaintiff meeting his opponent, when this officer was in view, might drag him *vi et armis* to an instant tribunal, and, setting his foot upon his enemy's, there hold him till the cause of quarrel was decided. In such a proceeding, depending more on strength of body or lungs, than on questions of right and wrong, there was certainly more brevity than dignity; but one thing seems to have been well established, and that was, the infallibility of the judgment, which could come to such post-haste decisions, and give them the respectable name of laws.

The office of deemster is of much greater antiquity than the origin of the house of keys, and I conclude, was derived from that of the chief druid, who, in the earliest times, and in all countries, where this sect flourished, combined the rank of priest and magistrate. But the council of wise men is also of druidical institution, they were formerly called *taxi axi*, from the Celtic word *Teag asag*, which, according to Dr. Camp-

bell, implies druidism, or elders and senators. In more modern times, this assembly has taken the name of the Keys, which last term, Bishop Wilson ascribes to their knowledge of the jurisprudence of the country, and their unlocking the difficulties thereof at their pleasure.

The numbers of this council were not always twenty-four, they have been referred to as a legislative power when only twelve: in one of the old statutes I find it also recorded, *that their existence was wholly at the will of the lord, without whose consent, none are to be.* This decision, which is stated to have been from the deemsters, in answer to a question of Sir John Stanley second lord of Man, was exceedingly ill received, and though it was recorded in the statute-book, and consequently left there for law, was yet virtually rescinded almost as soon as made. The original form of election is nowhere mentioned, but immediately after the above declaration, such was the ferment it excited, that it was thought prudent on the part of the deputy-governor Byron, to grant the people a share in the election. Accordingly, in 1422, he sent out his precept to the six sheadings, directing them severally to elect six men, out of which six, he chose four to represent their respective districts, and these made up the twenty-four keys, by

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whose advice and concurrence at that time, several laws and regulations were made.

Why this mode of election has not been preserved, or how the people have lost a right so invaluable as that of choosing their own representatives, is not explained; custom has, however, completely abrogated this privilege, and the *practice* now established is, that when a vacancy happens, the remaining members elect two persons, one of whom receives the approbation of the governor, and thenceforward retains his seat for life, unless he vacates by voluntary resignation, accepting a place in council, or is expelled by the vote of the majority for some high crime or misdemeanor. What mode would be adopted, if the governor disapproved of both the nominations, is not settled, nor, I believe, has the case ever occurred. The keys cannot assemble without a summons from the governor, and his mandate dissolves the sitting without delay or demur. This body, when collected, with the lord proprietor, his deputy, and council, constitute a Tynwald court, whose accordance is absolutely essential to every legislative act; but since the revesting of the island in the crown of Great Britain, before it can obtain the force of a law, every decree must be confirmed by his Majesty, and ultimately proclaimed in the English

and Manx languages before the people at the Tynwald hill.

In the separate meetings of the keys, the number of thirteen is required to form a house. They elect their own speaker, who holds his office for life, and they decide by a majority. The qualifications of a member are to be of full age, that is, twenty-one years, and to possess landed property in the island. Non-residence, or even being a foreigner, are no impediments to election. Their privileges were of more value in the feudal times than at present; they being exempt from all duties and services to the lord, and free to kill game in any part of the country. To charge a key with misconduct in the performance of his duty, subjects the offender to a penalty, and loss of ears. This body have always possessed the confidence of the people, and though self-elected, seem never to have abused their power. The office is attended with much trouble and no emolument; but it is every day rising in consideration, and though, formerly, little respect attended the individuals, at this time, a member of the keys in the Isle of Man, is regarded by his compatriots as a representative of the Commons is in Great Britain. This increase of consequence takes date since the revestment, and is chiefly founded on the systematic opposition shewn by

this house to every act or proposition of the Duke of Athol, by which they soothe and augment the aversion of the people to that nobleman, and keep alive, often without a shadow of reason, the suspicion entertained of his motives and designs.

A late writer has observed, "that were the keys once corrupt, they must continue so for ever, the very nature of their constitution being such, that it could never be purified:" but, with submission to this author, I think differently; corruption in a small legislative body like the one in question, would carry its remedy with it, a few acts of oppression in the improved state of Manx population, would awaken them to an inquiry into their rights, and it is more than probable, would restore the original form of democratic election.

The chief civil officers are the governor, and lieutenant-governor, one of them being chancellor ex officio; the two deemsters, or judges, one presiding in the southern, the other in the northern division (these must necessarily be natives); the water-bailiff, the high bailiffs, one in each town; the coroners, who are six in number, and preside separately over the six sheadings or districts, into which the island is divided, each having under him a deputy-coroner, or lockman.

The council consists of the following persons:

the bishop, the receivers-general, the water-bailiff, attorney-general, clerk of the rolls, and the archdeacon.

All the lands of Man formerly belonged to the lord, and the occupiers could neither sell nor alienate without his consent; they were termed the lord's tenants, and were subject to the payment of a fine or rental, which was fixed by the setting quest from year to year. This system had been somewhat relaxed, and the holders came to be regarded as customary tenants, and some of the estates to descend from father to heir for a time, which had given an idea of individual property. But, in 1643, we find an attempt was made by James, Earl of Derby, to seize all the tenures into his own hands, and to effect this, he offered, on a quiet surrender, that he would make a grant to each individual of a lease for three lives, or twenty-one years. This proceeding gave rise to a warm contest, but the dispute remained unsettled till 1703, when it was finally arranged by the interference of Bishop Wilson, and the strenuous representations of the keys. At this time (in 1703), commissioners were appointed, by whom the lord's dues were incontrovertibly fixed, and the inheritance of their property assured to the people, on the payment of the rents and fines so settled. In 1777,

another act was passed by Lord Derby, confirming the first act of settlement, by which, estates on the death of the owner were declared to be the right of the eldest son, or if no son, of the eldest daughter. A man cannot devise an estate of inheritance otherwise than in the direct line, but purchased property he may dispose of by will. If he dies intestate, the whole falls to his heirs at law, saving the widow's right, which is half the real and personal estate of her husband, whether he make a will or not. Of the entailed estate, the widow only enjoys her share for life, which afterwards reverts to the heir; but of personal property, she has power to devise one half by will amongst any of her children, even those of a former marriage, and in the life-time of her husband, and these children can claim their respective shares on the death of either parent, as soon as the said children attain the age of fourteen years.

The whole island was formerly divided into six hundred quarter lands, but at present the number is seven hundred and fifty-nine; all other estates appear to be allotments out of, or encroachments upon these. All wrecks belong to the lord, if not claimed within a year and a day. Mines also are his by his prerogative. Game belongs exclusively to the lord, and the laws

were formerly very severe against encroachers, but these have now become nearly obsolete.

Besides the trial by jury in common law and criminal cases, there are various juries impannelled on other occasions. In cases of loss, trespass, or robbery, previous to any other proceedings, juries of inquiry must be summoned, who have power to examine all parties, who may, by possibility, have knowledge of the facts to be inquired into; they may even tender the oath to the suspected person, and their refusal to accept this purgation is considered as presumptive proof of guilt. Upon the verdict of this first jury, subsequent process is founded.

Fodder juries are also a very curious institution. If any person gives notice to the coroner that a gentleman, farmer, or cottager, has a larger stock of cattle than his apparent means can support, he is obliged to summon four men of the same parish, three of whom must be farmers, who are to make inspection what grass or fodder the said persons have provided for their cattle, as well in summer, as in winter, and to make a true report in writing to the next court, and if it should appear that such provision is not sufficient for the cattle, an order is granted to the coroner to sell off so much of the stock as exceeds the quantum of provender, and to deliver

the price to the owner. The law even enjoins the said juries to take special care that the needful fodder is actually in present possession, and by no means to admit the evasive excuse of a dependence for supply upon others.

CHAP. XV.

The various Courts of Law and Proceedings in them.

THE courts, besides the House of Keys, are the Court of Chancery, the Court of general Gaol Delivery, the Court of Exchequer, the common Law Court, the two Deemsters' Courts, the Court of Admiralty, and the courts of the High Bailiffs, at the four towns; but the courts possessing appellative jurisdiction, are the twenty-four Keys, the Staff of Government, and lastly, the King in Council.

For the more convenient administration of justice, the island is divided into two districts, with a deemster or judge for each: but the other courts are usually held at Castle Rushen, except the common law courts. These districts are subdivided into six sheadings, over each of

which a governor or coroner is appointed, with very extensive powers.

By the act of revestment all the insular courts remained untouched, except that the lord's judicial power was transferred to the king of England. In all the proceedings the parties are at liberty to plead their own cause, and this practice universally prevailed till of late years, when a bench of advocates have been formed, who are now generally employed in all matters of importance.

The court of chancery, in which the governor presides as chancellor, assisted by the two deemsters, the clerk of the rolls, and water-bailiff, takes cognizance of all causes both of law and equity, and has power to judge without the intervention of a jury. For the purpose of prosecuting a suit on the law side of this court, a common action is entered at the rolls office, when the defendant must be charged by the coroner three days before the sitting, which is usually held the first Thursday in every month. Should the person summoned neglect to appear, the same course is followed at three successive courts, and at the fourth the cause is heard and determined on the oath of the complainant.—Under an affidavit of debt, a native who can be proved to intend leaving the island, or a stranger without such

proof, may be imprisoned for the sum sworn to, however small, and his effects instantly arrested and held over by the constable to answer the demand and costs; after the decree these effects, according to law, whether much or little, are to be sold by public auction, and first paying one year's rent, together with the servants wages if due, the residue is applied to discharge the debt, and the *surplus* may be restored to the debtor. If the sum arising from the sale is not equal to these claims, it is nevertheless applied to their liquidation as far as it will go, and the person is still retained in prison for the deficiency, unless he be a native, who can only be coerced to the extent of his effects. On this subject, we shall reserve our remarks for the present.

The court of general gaol delivery is one of peculiar importance, at which all the constituted authorities assist. For the trial of any crime, which by the law of the land is deemed capital, the proceedings are remarkable for the humanity with which they are conducted towards the offender, who, contrary to the practice in England, is allowed council on his behalf; the constitution enjoins that four good men out of each parish shall be summoned, amounting in number to sixty-eight, from these a jury of twelve

are impaanelled: the accused having a privilege to challenge fifty-four: the prosecution is conducted by the attorney-general, and when the pleadings are ended, and the jury have agreed on their verdict, a very curious ceremony ensues. The deemster demands of the foreman, if he that ministers at the altar may continue to sit? If the reply be in the negative, it is understood to be the forerunner of a sentence of death, and the bishop with his clergy immediately retire; after conviction, the senior deemster passes judgment, but the execution cannot take place until his Majesty's pleasure be known. Lesser penalties may be inflicted on the authority of the governor. It is remarkable, and either bespeaks great morality in the people, or great laxity in the administration of the laws, that since the revestment in 1765, only two capital convictions have taken place in the island.

The court of common law is in part like that of chancery, the same judges preside, but in this the causes are decided by a jury. To this court also the trespass juries, and juries of inquest, make their return. It is held once in three months, alternately in each of the two districts, northern and southern; from this court appeal lies to the keys.

The court of exchequer has superintendent

authority in all cases of revenue, as also for the recovery of fines and forfeitures to the crown, and matters relative to customs and excise; it also determines the rights of tithes, which, previous to the act of 1777, had been cognizable only in the ecclesiastical court.

The deemster's court is the most popular and the one most frequently resorted to, being held every week. The judge in this court, by his sole authority, determines in cases of trespass, slander, assault, battery, debts, and contracts, but there lies an appeal from his judgment to the staff of government. The plaintiff, who seeks redress before the deemster, must apply to that judge for a summons, which being served on the defendant by the coroner, if the party so charged, or any of the witnesses, neglect to appear at the ensuing court, they incur a presentment for contempt, and are liable to be brought up by a constable at the next sitting, or in case of repeated evasion, they may be imprisoned till the cause is heard. Formerly the deemster's summons, which was then, and still is called a token, consisted only of a piece of blue slate, on which two letters of his name were engraven, or more properly speaking, scratched with any rude instrument that offered, and

to falsify this token, the law declared to be penal.

When the parties appear in court the deemster hears the pleadings on both sides, and as small matters are seldom conducted by an advocate, it often happens that decorum is altogether forgotten in the heat of contention, and a spectator, unacquainted with the practice of these courts, would incline to think he was in a market, where the contending parties were disputing about their commodities before an umpire, rather than in a court of justice, and in the presence of a supreme judge.

After a hearing, the deemster gives judgment in writing, which is delivered to the coroner, who puts it in force. In actions of battery the law is very curious. A person striking or wounding another is liable to a fine of ten shillings, besides charges of cure; but he who provokes such blows by abusive language, "causing, or that might cause, such battery or wounding," incurs a penalty of thirteen shillings and fourpence, besides suffering imprisonment.*

The water bailiff, or judge of the court of ad-

* This penalty is now increased.—See Penal Code, in the Appendix, 8.

miralty, has ever been regarded as an officer of great importance; he is one of the council, and takes cognizance of all maritime concerns and offences committed within three leagues of the shore.

The high bailiffs in the several towns are of modern institution, they are a kind of police officers, being conservators of the peace, and have jurisdiction in matters of debt under forty shillings. These hold their office during the governor's pleasure.

The coroners have a power in many respects analogous to English sheriffs; the power of each expires with the year, but during its existence is very extensive; he is a ministerial as well as a peace officer, and also takes inquests, in cases of sudden or violent deaths. In his ministerial capacity he is to summon juries, and execute process issuing from the different courts, and after the legal forms are complied with he has power to sell such goods as he has arrested.

With respect to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Bishop of Man, besides his spiritual rank, is sole baron of the isle; he has a seat in the council, the court of chancery, and exchequer. Al- ecclesiastical affairs, relative to wills, administrations, debts and credits of deceased persons; minors' effects and alimony are heard and deter-

mined, either by his lordship in person, or by his vicars-general, who are in the nature of chancellors to the bishop.

The proceedings in the spiritual courts, where, not otherwise noticed by the local laws, are regulated in conformity to those of England; the archdeacon is the second spiritual officer in the island, and has, in all inferior cases, alternate jurisdiction with the bishop; he holds his court either in person or by his official: the usual appeal, in all matters purely spiritual, lies from the insular court to their metropolitan, the archbishop of York, but in temporal and civil affairs to the staff of government.

Marriages may be contracted by banns or licence: aliens cannot marry till they have been three months resident in the island. Marriage is, in fact, considered here as an act of partnership, giving no exclusive right to property. A man who marries an heiress, enjoys only one-half of her lands during his life; if she dies without children, and he continues unmarried, the same law invests the female with equal rights as to property of inheritance during her widowhood; but of his acquired possessions, she has power even during his life to devise one-half to any child of her own, and this will is in force immediately on her decease. No man or wo-

man, being married, can sell or lease but by mutual consent. If a man marries a second wife, having issue by his first, the second only takes one-fourth part of his estate of inheritance, nor can any will or deed of gift invalidate these singular rights, except by the joint act of both parties, yet the husband incurs the same liability respecting his wife's debts as in England.

In the Isle of Man, children arrive at the age of majority when they have completed their fourteenth year, so far as relates to personal property, to which they then become entitled, and are also liable to debts thenceforward contracted by them; but must attain the age of twenty-one before they can enter in possession of landed estates, or make any disposition by way of sale.

A marriage contracted between the parties, within three years of the birth of a child, renders such child legitimate, if the character of the female is otherwise unimpeached. A woman convicted of adultery loses her wife's or widow's right, and is entitled only to such alimony as the ecclesiastical court thinks proper to allow.

Executors may proceed in the ecclesiastical court for the immediate recovery of debts due to deceased persons, and their decree having once

passed, and the order given out, subjects the defendant to instant imprisonment, till satisfaction is made by payment in full; on the other hand, no claim can be enforced against the effects of the dead under a year and a day; or if they had any money transactions out of the island, the law allows to the heirs or executors the extended term of three years for the settlement of the whole concerns.

The mode formerly adopted for making proof of a demand for or against the estate of the defunct, was very curious: the person charging or denying such debt was obliged to visit the grave of the deceased, with two witnesses, and stretching himself at length on the same, with an open bible on his breast, he there pronounced a solemn oath, which, in the absence of other proofs, was accepted as positive confirmation or denial of the matter in dispute; but this process was abolished by Bishop Barrow.

As to the penal laws their defects being admitted, and the code at this time under the actual consideration of the legislature for the express purpose of amendment and elucidation, it would be useless to enlarge on their present state; and it is to be hoped, when the promised alterations do take place, a stricter police will be establish-

ed, and the impunity now afforded to crimes, for want of definition in the existing power, will no longer remain a just subject of complaint.*

There is one particular, which seems to have escaped observation, and yet calls imperiously for attention, which is, the manner of conducting coroner's inquests, in cases of sudden deaths, and the slovenly style in which they proceed when summoned.

To prove that this charge is not unfounded, I shall select two anecdotes from the number that have fallen under my observation. In one case, the captain of a Norwegian vessel, after receiving a considerable sum of money, was found dead without any previous illness! the cause assigned was intoxication, but attended by circumstances so suspicious as at any rate to demand a strict investigation; great part of his money had disappeared, and the body immediately after death turned entirely black, and exhibited many symptoms inducing a belief that poison had been administered; on this matter no inquiry took place, or if any, certainly not with the assistance of any medical man. The other affair was yet more extraordinary. A man wholly unknown

* For the new Penal Statutes, see Appendix, 8.

being found in the river apparently drowned, an inquest was taken, and the verdict to this effect being given, he was consigned to the care of the undertaker, when, behold, on stripping the body, it appeared that his throat had been cut, and the neckcloth replaced, all which, with perfect sang-froid, the foreman of the jury declared, he had no doubt the deceased had done himself, so that there was no need to revise the former decision, on account of these new circumstances!

CHAP. XVI.

Comments on the State of the Laws, with some Cases adduced in Proof of the Assertion that they require Amelioration.

I AM aware, that the contents of this chapter will be so entirely local, that it will afford little to amuse, or interest, the general reader; but as the facts I mean to state have recently occurred, and the ill consequences attending the abuses of the laws which I am about to point out, are felt or acknowledged by all, (yet without the smallest attempt being made to redress those grievances and oppressions), I think it my duty, as an impartial historian, to hold them up to public view, in the belief which I entertain, that this negligence of fundamental principles has, perhaps, originated in the want of a fair state-

ment, or it may be in the very nature of the society, as it was constituted previous to the non-protection act.

I am ever ready to admit, that whilst impunity from foreign claims existed, the frequent resort of unprincipled and extravagant persons demanded an extraordinary degree of coercion in the debtor and creditor laws of the island, to protect the natives from encroachment and injury; and that it was under these circumstances equal justice to grant immunities to one class, and hold up severe penalties against the other; but now that this protection is done away, and that both the trade and agriculture of the island loudly demand an increased population to revive their drooping vigour, it must be an obvious policy to grant equal privileges to the settler and the native. None are likely to visit this place in future but persons of moderate fortunes, and consequently of habits consonant to their property. If such are to be exposed to the harassing effects of the laws, as they now stand, a very short trial would suffice to make them seek a retreat elsewhere; to illustrate my assertion, I need only adduce a few instances, which are recent and too well known in the island to be controverted.

And first, in matters of debtor and creditor, the Manx laws, with regard to a native, prohibit personal imprisonment, but with great justice, subject the whole property of the debtor to the claims of his creditor; this exemption from personal suffering has certainly, in some cases, been diverted to purposes of fraud. The native has been known to make false assignments, or to turn his effects into cash, and then, under cover of the law, to set his creditors at defiance; but as no human institutions are perfect, the impossibility of entirely guarding against the ingenuity of knavery, can never be brought forward to abrogate a principle, which the enlarged views of society causes at this time to be adopted into the jurisprudence of nearly all trading countries, and it is probable, a modification of the bankrupt laws of England would be the best defence against the frauds complained of; but this it is not my concern to determine, all I have to do is to point out the errors that exist, and leave the legislature in its wisdom to correct them.

With regard to strangers, as our fellow subjects from Great Britain and Ireland are insidiously termed, the case is wholly different; actions on a simple affadavit of debt, subjects the

person to incarceration, and the effects to sequestration; and that, not merely to the value demanded, but the law as it now stands, authorizes the constable to take possession of *all* the property of the person arrested, to hold it till the question of right is decided, and then to sell, not to the amount of the debt only, but the words of the statute are, "that he is to sell the whole effects, and first paying a year's rent if due, and the servants' wages for the same time, then to satisfy the creditor with all costs and charges, and *afterwards* to deliver the overplus to the right owner." No words can be requisite to point out the injustice of such a system, by which on a disputed account, a person might be thrown into prison, his trade ruined, his effects wasted, and his family starved, whilst the matter was under discussion, and which, according to law, cannot be decided under four months; and if on the issue, the creditor only succeeds in establishing a small part of his demand before the sufferer can be released, he must wait the sale of property, ruined, perhaps, by mismanagement, or it is not unlikely remain for life in prison, on a deficiency created by the measures adopted against him. Another strong feature appears in the principle on which bail is conducted. The law obliges the stranger who

wishes to contest an unjust demand, to give *Manx* bail; and, as if this was not throwing sufficient difficulty in the way, it also provides, that such bail becomes to all intents and purposes liable for so much of the debt as, on investigation, shall be found due to the claimant, from which liability he is not exonerated, as in England, by the surrender of the debtor to gaol.

But as facts speak more forcibly than arguments, I shall adduce some recent occurences in illustration of my statement. In one case an English farmer having given offence to a native with whom he had been in habits of strict intimacy, he was arrested without any previous notice, or even the formality of demanding a settlement. The demand on which the action was grounded, originated in a running account between the parties, and the real balance due was in reality a mere trifle. The action, however, was taken out for the full sum that appeared on the books of the plaintiff; and as he was a man of extensive connexions, and the other a stranger, no one chose to offend the native by becoming bail, and consequently the farmer, who was also an inn-keeper, was hurried to prison, his farm work stopped, his house shut up, and all his affairs thrown into confusion, as indeed was the design of the plaintiff, whose object was to

harass and, if possible, ruin his adversary; and although after six months incarceration, he was released upon bail, and that finally a judgment was given, reducing the demand of his adversary more than two thirds, yet was this tardy and insufficient act of justice a very poor recompence to a man, who returned, to find his farm unseeded, his stock and crops wasted, his trade fallen into other hands, and his whole affairs in a state of irretrievable ruin, though at the moment of his arrest, all had been prosperous and easy. Can it be wondered at, that his spirits sunk under the affliction, and in a short time he fell a victim to the malice of his persecutor.

Another, and somewhat similar instance, occurred in the town of Douglas, only that in this case the misfortune resulted purely from the state of the laws, without premeditation or design. A petty brewer was arrested and imprisoned for a demand of £140, by the administrators of a deceased merchant, who founded their charge, as they themselves acknowledged, simply on a conjecture that a quantity of barley, of which no account was to be found in the books of the deceased, must have been sold by him to this brewer, *because* they were known to have dealings together, and *because* the said brewer

was believed to be of a character likely to take advantage of any neglect or omission on the part of the merchant, in order to evade payment. On no better grounds than these, this action was maintained through four months, during which the man lay in prison, his wife and child were reduced to absolute want! his stock of beer entirely spoiled! and his trade, depending wholly on his personal exertions, completely annihilated. At the end of that time it turned out, that the only claim which could be proved against him was for £3. And the only justification attempted to be set up in extenuation of proceedings so harsh and oppressive, was founded on the previous character of the sufferer: An apology which can never be admitted as sufficient, since it is obvious, that what was done in this case might just as well occur again to any other person, at the pleasure of a vindictive creditor, or indeed of no creditor at all; and assuredly to sequester effects upon a doubtful point, to deprive a family of support, and subject property to arbitrary removal and injury, as well as to detain the body of the debtor, is utterly inconsistent with all the principles of justice!

But that such, notwithstanding, is the law of the land, I have the authority of one of the highest legal officers to assert. A question having been

submitted to him, in the case of a person incarcerated for a debt of two hundred pounds, (the debtor having effects on the island in farm produce and stock to at least the value of £1200,) whether his family might subtract so much from the bulk of grain and other articles as would support them till the matter came to a decision? The answer to which was a positive and unqualified negative, with a declaration, that pending the question nothing must be touched, the whole being virtually under arrest, and subjected to the demand.

Unreasonable as these proceedings may appear, they are yet exceeded by the existing law, or, perhaps, I should speak more accurately if I was to say, the existing practice, between landlord and tenant: to which, however, both natives and strangers are equally liable. A landlord immediately, on payment of one year's rent, or within fourteen days after it becomes due, can arrest the property on the premises for the ensuing year. This is done by the coroner for that sheading, who takes a jury of four persons to value the effects; and as the law provides, that if such effects when sold do not realize the valuation, the said jury are compellable to pay for them at the prices affixed, it may therefore

easily be imagined, they will take good care to make ample allowance for contingencies. If the property arrested is growing corn, or hay grass, the farmer is restrained even from cutting or carrying it, at the harvest all he has a right to do is to give notice to the proper officer, who is enjoined to use due diligence to protect the grain. Few farmers, however, could be very easy under the exertion of this second hand *diligence!* Meantime an attempt to sell any part of the property, or in any way to alter the state of what is so arrested, (though it shall be proved to be with the intention of applying the proceeds to pay the rent,) subjects the tenant to imprisonment, from which he can only be released on giving bail to *double the amount* of the current rent. To dwell longer on this would be absurd; the bare statement is fully sufficient, borne out as it is by a recent case well known in the island, and which I have no doubt will awaken attention, and may probably procure redress.

Perhaps no maxim can be more true than that to comprehend an evil in its full extent, we must be in some way exposed to its operation or influence: for on no other ground can we account for the jealousy evinced by the Manx legislature in guarding the personal liberties and privileges

of natives, and the complete indifference exhibited by that body on the same subject as referring to strangers. To such a pitch, indeed, has this coercive spirit been carried, that an insolvent act, though loudly called for in the island, and even recommended by the interference of the House of Commons of England, was withheld and opposed in all its stages; nor, I believe, would it ever have been granted, had not a very plain intimation been given, that if such a measure for the relief of the unfortunate did not originate with the insular government, the British parliament would exert their own authority in the cause of humanity. In consequence of this hint, and its being warmly supported in the house of keys by Mr. Curwen, then member for Carlisle, and also one of the keys, who declared, if it failed there he would move it in his place in England, the act at last did pass, by which a prisoner, after an imprisonment of one year, might be released on the usual conditions of a complete surrender of effects; but the term of this act being limited to two years, is now nearly expired. It is remarkable that by the Manx laws, a debtor has an allowance of only 3s. per week from his creditor, on delivering up his whole effects, or I should rather say, after his property has been taken

from him; which allowance is eventually to be added to the original debt. Whereas a person confined under a criminal charge, receives 1s. per diem during his imprisonment, and retains his effects; so that it should seem in the eyes of this legislature, the crime of poverty is estimated as deserving much more severe punishment than is inflicted on breaches of the law; more especially as it is a rare thing to see the heaviest offences visited with any other penalty, except a temporary incarceration. Even in a case of murder, and that pretty well proved, the verdict returned being manslaughter, the criminal escaped with only three weeks confinement,* whereas I have known a debtor languish in Castle Rushen eight years after he had relinquished the last remnant of his property.

* I allude to the case of one *Coux*, who was indicted for the murder of his wife; and on whose trial, before the late deemster Lace, it appeared, that he had perpetrated this crime with so much deliberation, as to wait the heating of a poker, with which he struck the blows which occasioned her death: yet was the verdict such as I have recorded above.

CHAP. XVII.

Comments on the actual State of Society in the Island—Characteristics of the Natives—The Clergy—Methodists.

HAVING now given as full an account of the history of the island as my materials will allow, and impartially pointed out the local disadvantages a stranger may have to encounter, I must descend from the character of an historian; and in order to form a more accurate "*chart du pays*," it will be needful to introduce both anecdote and individual character, as far as they may serve to illustrate the present state of society and manners, and enable my readers to judge how far I am correct in the assertion with which I sat out, that the island offers a favorable retreat to persons of small fortune, and moderate habits.

Having formerly published some letters in a

London paper on the same subject and with the same view, that of making our neighbours on the opposite coasts better acquainted with the Isle of Man, I shall not, I trust, be charged with plagiarism, if I make a restatement of some particulars there laid down. In the minds of those who have thought of this place at all, a strong prejudice has hitherto existed against it, as a mere asylum where debtors might elude the claims of their creditors! that the protection hitherto granted by the laws of the island, has in many instances invited the unprincipled and extravagant to a temporary residence, cannot be denied; but it is equally true, that in various cases, it has afforded a retreat, where by the practice of economy those affairs have been retrieved, and debts paid, which had the individuals been subjected to imprisonment, with its attendant disadvantages and expenses, never would have been effected: but at present the question in all its bearings may be laid aside as of no farther importance.

The insular legislature, influenced by a requisition from the British government, have thrown open a door to the recovery of foreign debts; and the consequences of this act are, for the present, most seriously felt in the island, where the sums brought in by strangers, in-

creased the circulation, and gave the necessary stimulus to commerce and agriculture; but these very circumstances concur to form a most favorable era for the introduction of those to whom, I am of opinion the island presents advantages nowhere else to be found in the United Kingdom.

In Great Britain, by the inroads of luxury and the tremendous increase of taxation, existence is absolutely denied to that class which formerly constituted the middle rank; whereas in the Isle of Man, these are precisely the persons best calculated to harmonize with the manners and customs of its inhabitants, in whose character habitual economy forms a very leading trait. By the vast increase of trade and commerce in England, and the consequent influx of wealth, things have completely changed their names, whilst their natures have undergone no alteration. Prudence is now degraded into parsimony, and prodigality has assumed the honorable title of liberality; but as in this isolated spot it has most frequently happened, that people have had to contemplate the results of this transposition of terms, divested of the glare attending its progress, as whilst the place afforded an asylum to the debtor, they too often found, that those who fled from the consequences of extravagance

on one side the water, brought the same habits of expense and disorder to the other; and as such characters are usually actuated by a sovereigu contempt for those little minds who limit their expenses within their means; the legitimate fruit of this combination of profusion and scorn, was distrust and aversion. Hence it has become a rule that the stranger who would live well with the natives, was compelled to adopt their customs, and above all things found it requisite to avoid every *appearance* of profusion. When it is considered how much we are the creatures of example, and how many foolish things are done for no better reason than because others do them, or to evade the suspicion of poverty, the value of this remarkable feature must be duly appreciated.

It has been alleged that the Manx people are illiberal and inhospitable; but I speak from experience and observation, when I assert them to be neither one nor the other. Those characteristics I have enumerated, as generally belonging to the refugees settling here, and the high airs usually assumed by them, certainly prevented any degree of intimacy between two sets of people, whose arrangements were totally dissimilar. Nor would it have had any effect in producing unanimity, had the Manx hazarded their morals

by an attempt at assimilation. But it does not follow that the same aversion to extend the circle of society, would operate to the exclusion of persons more consonant to themselves. I believe the very contrary will be the case, and that a short time will suffice to root out all prejudices on this subject. Meanwhile, in the Isle of Man, no sacrifice is exacted to ostentation. There is no scale of expence established, to which all must conform, who would preserve a respectability of appearance. The simple assertion, "I cannot afford it," is accepted as both reasonable and honorable; and those whose current expences are completely bounded by their income, occupy a more advantageous station in the eyes of their contemporaries, than those who, to make a great shew, go not only to the extent of their means, but keep their credit also on the full stretch.

Another advantage, particularly to young housekeepers, is, the entire absence of luxuries; the markets offer few temptations, and the shops very little beyond articles of necessity. Here are neither public places or gaming tables, even tavern meetings are little frequented, and the possibility of extravagance hardly exists. When to this is added the entire freedom from taxation, it must be evident, that a very narrow income

with tolerable management, may support a family in this island, to whom it would hardly give food in Great Britain.

Another particular most favorable to the maintenance of economy, lies in the habits of the house-servants, who, being usually trained up in Manx families, have no idea of that expensive scale of rights and privileges, which has crept in by combination and sufferance in other countries; but it is a necessary caution to those who would profit by the established customs, to warn them that they must not attempt to mix the native domestics with any others; and that they must make themselves acquainted with, and steadily enforce the established practices of the country. The servants have, in general, but a limited knowledge of their duties, but with a little instruction, prove useful and active. The regular times of hiring is at May and November; for the ensuing six months, if the persons hired absent themselves from their service within the term of engagement, they are liable to imprisonment; if dismissed by the hirer, the full wages must be paid: these are moderate, and vary according to the abilities of the subject.

It is universally allowed, that no class have a greater influence in forming the character of society at large, than the clergy, and I shall enter

on this subject with great pleasure, as it relates to those of the Isle of Man, whom I consider as deserving the most honorable mention. To the indolence, carelessness, and even irreligion, too often exhibited in persons holding the office of ministers in England and Ireland, it is, I believe, universally admitted, much of the ordinary vices of the lower orders of people may be ascribed: the remark is trite, but not the less true, that a precept has little influence, when example takes a contrary direction. The graces of elocution, the charms of learning, the finest taste in the choice of discourses, can never counterbalance the mischiefs effected by a negligent or immoral pastor; his Sunday lectures can have no weight, whilst his weekly practice carries him through the haunts of vice and dissipation. Happily for this island, the inhabitants cannot, from experience, appreciate the veracity of this maxim amongst the whole order of Manx clergy, though some may be deficient in learning, and even in that elevated strain of piety so necessary to give full efficacy to the doctrines they teach. Yet I will undertake, without fear of contradiction, to say, there are few, if any, striking instances of dereliction from their duties, and that, generally speaking, the established habits of the whole body are consonant to the best rules of orthodoxy.

When Bishop Wilson first settled in the Isle of Man, he found the clergy sunk in ignorance, and not remarkable for propriety of conduct; he speedily saw the necessity of striking at the root of an evil so extensive in its consequences, and he began by establishing a seminary under his own roof, where, with unwearied pains, he trained up future candidates for the ministry: the benefits of this excellent plan are not yet exhausted, the pupils of his pupils are still alive to propagate the blessing.

If the Manx clergy are a little deficient in the exterior polish of those attainments derivable from a College education, they are, at least, preserved from the contagion of vices too often attendant on a superior course of instruction, and retain a simplicity of character and correctness of manners more conducive to the general good of those they have to instruct, than greater learning would prove with less humility.

Much emulation in reading and speaking has, of late, prevailed amongst the younger candidates, and the improvement in these particulars has been very striking, even within the term of my own observation. Great part of this evident change in oratory may be ascribed to the influence of the present bishop, whose discourses, which he delivers with calm, but energetic so-

lemnity, are particularly impressive. Indeed, it may be truly said, that his Lordship's example, as well as his vigilant superintendence, are highly conducive to the preservation of religion in his diocese, as well as to the general amelioration of manners both in his clergy and people, his own character being embellished with all the graces derivable from the high polish of elevated society, combined and corrected by the gentleness and moderation of genuine Christianity.

The service is performed in most country churches alternately in English and Manx, in the towns of Douglas and Castletown; the former language is adopted exclusively. The livings are none of them large, but they are pretty equally distributed; the highest does not exceed £350, nor the lowest fall beneath £80 per annum. The service of a curate is almost unknown, and residence very strictly enforced. I have witnessed with pleasure, the respect universally shewn to the clergyman and his family in several parishes, where such observations have come within my reach; and the peaceful and orderly arrangements of these village-pastors in their houses, has forcibly reminded me of Goldsmith's description of a similar character.

To particularize some, cannot be done without injustice to others. But there is one minister in

the island, in whose eulogy, I believe, all parties will concur with unqualified approbation. I respect the pious and unaffected humility of this gentleman's mind too much to mention his name. But, as "the friend of Man," a title universally accorded him, he is well known in his little circle, where his paternal care is actively employed to benefit and instruct; nor does he confine his pious endeavors to the narrow limits of his own parish—his writings and exhortations take a more extended range, and the good he is enabled to effect must return in blessings on himself.

The service of the church is attended by the laity with an appearance of devotion, very edifying to witness; nor is the rest of the Sabbath profaned by riots and drunkenness, as is too often the case in larger communities. A quiet walk, or a little chat from house to house amongst the decent villagers, seems to bound the Sunday diversions.

The methodists are, in this island, an increasing sect. It appears, that from their first institution, they have been favorably received here, as has ever been the case, when they have assailed an ignorant or superstitious people. Wesley, who visited them in 1777, says of this place, "We have no such circuit either in England or Ireland; it is shut up from the world; there are

no disputes of any kind. Governor, bishop,* clergy, oppose not—they did for a season, but they grew better acquainted with us."

I confess I do not wholly subscribe to the prejudice entertained against this people; I firmly believe, as the candid and ingenuous Dr. Paley observes, "that there is to be found amongst them much sincere and availing, though not always well-informed Christianity." That their devotion is too enthusiastic must be admitted, and where it goes the length of substituting faith for works, the doctrine is undoubtedly more than erroneous, it becomes highly dangerous. But these abstract points are not those which operate on the minds of the multitude, nor are they those which are generally objected to, or even considered by their opponents; and though some far-sighted persons may discern a danger to the church and state, from the prevalence of puritanism, I confess I cannot bring myself as yet to partake of their fears, for I am inclined to think, that the cry of the great mass, if duly analized, would be found to be as much excited

* Dr. Hildesley was then diocesan.—I cannot help thinking Bishop Wilson would have resisted these innovators with more zeal.

by a high strain of devotion in general, as against the methodists in particular; a very little extra attention to duty, or opposition to prevailing vices, has the effect to raise the hue-and-cry of hypocrisy. According to the present system, drunkenness, debauchery, and profane swearing, are all vices incident to human nature, and for which, charity commands us to make every allowance, and continually to bear in mind the precepts of our Saviour against partial judgments. But one seldom sees the same forbearance exhibited in decrying a praying psalm-singing rogue; his sanctity, even though no outward evidence impeaches it, is yet a subject of continual suspicion: in short, hypocrisy, whether real or imaginary, seems to include all the deadly sins; and to evade this charge, no hazard, not even that of our eternal happiness, is thought too much.

The evil consequences to the rising generation, of this affected candor in estimating real vices, and this fearful avoidance of assuming virtue, must be obvious. Children, who continually hear all professions of piety ridiculed, and suspected, must naturally look on devotion as useless or affected; and whilst every mention of a future state, and every quotation from Scripture is avoided as methodistical cant, I would fain

know by what intuition they are to obtain the knowledge, which, I trust, we are not yet arrived at the pitch of denying, is necessary to salvation.

My object in this digression is by no means to advocate the cause of enthusiasm, I only seek to decry absolute irreligion; all that is done by the methodists, and much more than they can effect, would be far better performed, by the enlightened and rational clergy of the established church, if they would only exert themselves heartily, and conscientiously in the cause; for I fully agree with the author I have before quoted, (Dr. Paley), who says, "I have never yet attended a meeting of the methodists, but I came away with the reflection, how different what I heard, was from the sobriety, the good sense, and I may add, the strength and authority of our Lord's discourses;" and, therefore, though I would rather have the lower orders instructed in matters of religion, even by the methodists, than remain completely in ignorance, yet in the Isle of Man, where no such neglect subsists, and where the clergy, from the head of the church to the youngest member of the class, are both adequate to their office, and zealous in performing the duties enjoined on them, I think interlopers are worse than useless; and should agree

heartily in the sentiments of those who wish some check or restraint should be imposed on their increasing influence; if the experience of all ages did not prove, that every species of coercion, in matters of opinion, has a direct tendency to strengthen and extend the evil.

CHAP. XVIII.

Further Observations on the Society—An Example presented to the Ladies for their Imitation, deduced wholly from Native *Excellence—The Peasantry—Review of the State of Society at different Periods—Contrast between the Natives and Strangers—Anecdote of the Latter.*

THE situation of the Isle of Man, slowly emerging from a state of depression, has been, for the last three centuries, peculiarly unfavourable to literature; the supply of bodily wants will always supersede the improvement of the mind, hitherto the people have learnt only to live, they may now "live to learn." But though little has been done at home, the island has nevertheless afforded some excellent specimens of the effects

of foreign culture on native talent; and when recalling the names of those who, owing their birth to this confined sphere, have contributed to adorn, instruct, or defend, the parent state, every Manxman will record with pride the distinguished names of Colonel Mark Wilkes, the historian of India; the learned lexicographer, Dr. Kelly; Captains Heywood and Kelly, of the royal navy, gentlemen not more distinguished for courage and enterprize, than for science in their profession; these are all luminaries of the present day, and doubtless there may be many more equally worthy of notice. I have heard of only one native poet, and his talents, though certainly above mediocrity, were suffered to evaporate in local satire, of which the humour is now lost, and in course the momentary corruscations attendant on his essays, have expired with the subjects whence they sprung.

On the whole, I believe it must be admitted, that Mona is not poetic ground, and it seems to me, that the character of the Manx, when it shall be completely developed, will be found better adapted to solid attainments, than to those flights of fancy, which carry the enthusiast into the regions of fiction.

But even to the due cultivation of those talents derived from nature much is still wanting,

and the foundation of scholastic learning is yet to be laid: the very heavy expence, as well as the inconvenience attendant on sending boys to England, restrains most families from adopting this plan, whilst those who do it, are apt to shorten their course so much that few have the advantage of a regular education, and thus each young man, in comparing the attainments of his cotemporaries with his own, finds them so nearly on a scale, that he has no incitement from emulation to advance nearer the goal.

Whenever the present class of pedagogues shall give place to only one or two schoolmasters of real learning, this great disadvantage will be overcome, and as I know no place that offers a fairer opening to persons in this line, I trust the attempt will yet be made; but to the success of such an undertaking, moderation of terms are essential at the outset; the value of education, not being sufficiently appretiated to command profuse returns, especially before the inhabitants have ascertained the real existence of those abilities, which they have been taught to doubt, from the extravagant and unfounded pretensions by which they have too often been duped.

The Manx ladies would have just cause of complaint, if I should pass them over in silent

neglect, yet I confess I enter their coterie with some fear, lest those, who do not know them, should accuse me of flattery, and those who do, should charge me with severity.

In speaking of the female part of the community, I shall pass lightly over the occasional visitors, and confine my remarks almost wholly to the natives, those who have come hither from other countries have seldom presented good specimens; either extravagance or necessity are badly calculated to form the character of woman in the best mould, and to one or other of these causes may be ascribed most of the emigrations which have hitherto taken place. Future writers will probably have better subjects to describe, but till now the most striking traits exhibited by these fair wanderers have been a sovereign contempt for those they came to live amongst, a prodigious flippancy, vast affectation of high breeding, and pretensions to a rank in their own country, not always borne out by facts. With these ladies it was usual to pass their time in querulous regret at the fate which had condemned them to irradiate so low a sphere, and eager anticipations of their return to a more extended circle. The ill policy of shewing this aversion to the retreat they had chosen, must be plain to any comprehension! no one returns

esteem, for contempt, and nothing could be more natural than to join in the regret thus loudly expressed, that fortune had compelled them to take a station in society, where they were neither welcome or *invited* guests.

The generality of native ladies belong to that rank most favourable to feminine virtues, neither elevated by superior rank, talents, or attainments, nor sunk in vulgar and degrading ignorance. They are admirably calculated to perform their relative duties, and instances of dereliction are, in consequence, extremely rare; that they have not received the last polish, or acquired those arts which embellish the charms of virtue where she is, and outwardly supply her place where she is not, is most true; but neither do they exhibit those glaring vices, or that offensive disregard to propriety, which we *sometimes* see accompany extraordinary intellectual advantages.

The term *dashing* is not to be found in the Manx vocabulary, nor do the young ladies, or their mothers for them, lay violent hands on admiration; but rather wait with perfect quietness till it is spontaneously offered. I do not, indeed, consider the Isle of Man as the abode of Cupid or the Graces; in general, the marriages contracted by the natives, (though they take place

at rather an early age) are founded on prudential calculations, no man, however youthful, marries merely for love; yet, as soon as any one is established in business or housekeeping, he naturally looks out for a wife as a necessary appendage to his domestic economy, and in his choice is influenced by parity of circumstances, by early associations, or some such motives, independent of the tender passion: in general, the same quietude of sentiments actuates both sides, yet are these marriages, in most instances, fortunate in their results; a couple thus united live together on the best terms, they co-operate in their pursuits, habit soon gives them an undeviating conformity, and permits their lives to pass

"A clear and united stream."

The ladies are in general, admirable economists, and good mothers; they are rather fond of dress, but even this taste is so circumscribed, that it never leads them beyond the bounds of decency, whilst the vigilant superintendance of a narrow society restrains them from extravagance.

In the course of education pursued by the young ladies, all that is commonly called accom-

plishment, is attained with such difficulty and expence, that the attempt is generally relinquished; for, although in Douglas there are two female schools of tolerable celebrity, yet their plans are too superficial for essential good, and their efforts entirely crippled by the want of masters to assist in those branches of knowledge usually conducted by the other sex.

The style of visiting is like that which prevails in most country towns in England; they meet to play cards, to practise a little extra-judicial inquiry into the proceedings of their neighbours, to relate their own domestic afflictions, to show their new clothes, and to kill time; but for any intellectual attainments, for any "burst of sentiment or flow of soul," it is as little to be found or expected here, as in any other circle of the same confined dimensions; and I own I have often observed, with smiling wonder, the avidity with which they individually run from house to house all the morning, to repeat the same news, practise the same courtesies, and make the same inquiries separately, which the identical set must hear, see, and answer over again, collectively, in the evening. The only scenes of active and public amusement hitherto established, to bring the young people together, are monthly balls, which are well attended. I wonder nothing like a book

society has been attempted amongst the ladies; I am persuaded they have capacities for higher attainments than they have yet pursued, and I should rejoice to see their associations take a superior tone.

I would fain persuade my cotemporaries to assume the graces and charms of virtue in her best dress and character! to employ their time in acts of benevolence: to guide the ignorant, stimulate the idle, and substitute active goodness for the negative praise of harmlessness. In no place that I am acquainted with, are there better opportunities for this advance in real worth! the female character here presents almost a spotless surface! there are no prevalent vices to combat! no fashionable crimes to eradicate! all that is required is to improve, embellish, and call forth latent, good qualities, and give efficacy to dormant virtues, a purpose which I have little doubt, a very few examples would suffice to effect, and I think I cannot better conclude this short essay than with the character of a Manx lady not long since deceased; who, with only the narrow means of cultivation this island affords, presented in her life, and left behind at her death, a complete exemplification of *all* that is valuable in woman. I borrow the words from the sermon preached at

her funeral, and I might call on the whole circle of her acquaintance, to say if the picture exhibits one exaggerated feature. *

" Her piety, though silent in its exercises, and secret in its springs, powerfully influenced her life, and conversation, sweetened her temper, softened her manners, and elevated her views; from the exercises of public worship, from the retirement of her closet, and the perusal of the sacred volume, she returned to the active duties of her family with renewed energy:— 'looking well to the ways of her household, and training up her children in the way they should go, the heart of her husband safely trusted in her, and she did him good all the days of her life.' All her duties were performed with singleness and sincerity, she walked in her family, and neighbourhood as the angel of consolation, offering a balm for every wound, and a remedy for every distress; often have the sick and dying experienced relief from her charitable aid, and often has her well-timed assistance suspended pain, and arrested the progress of misery.

" In discharge of her relative duties she was

* Extract from a funeral sermon preached on the death of Mrs. Stawell, by the Rev. Thomas Howard, vicar of Braddon.

peculiarly exemplary, her conduct as a daughter was marked by the most cheerful obedience, and the most watchful attention: no language can convey an idea of the tenderness of her affection for her partner in life—she was his companion in health, his physician in sickness, ever anticipating his desires and preventing his wishes. Her attachment to her children was tender, rational, and constant! she taught them by her precepts, but still more by her example to observe and adorn the doctrine of their Saviour in all things.

"The close of such a life might well be expected to be peace, and such it was, solid, substantial, well-grounded peace and hope; for although it was the will of heaven to remove her in the prime of life, and though her sufferings in the last week of her existence were calculated to try her faith and patience, to the uttermost, yet she regarded them as the appointment of unerring wisdom, and endured them in silent tranquillity and resignation, exerting herself only to console those whom she was about to leave, and to point their hopes to a future meeting in bliss."

I believe no Manx woman can peruse this eulogium without some degree of exultation,

and I trust also, not without an earnest wish to follow such an admirable example.

The general description given of the Manx peasantry is, that they are sullen, unmoved by benefits, and to a degree beyond all bounds fond of litigation. I am not prepared wholly to deny these charges, but I think I may, without deviating from the strictest truth, offer something in the way of defence and explanation. Assuredly they are not a gracious people, they are slow in their apprehensions, and somewhat cold-hearted in manner, if not in reality, particularly towards strangers, of whom circumstances have engendered a degree of suspicion, which is now almost engrafted in their nature, and which only time, and an improved course of education can eradicate. The charge of ingratitude also admits of considerable palliation. This sentiment, in uncultivated minds, must ever be in an exact ratio with *their sense* of the benefit conferred; now it is most certain, that what an English peasant would consider as a state of actual starvation, is scarcely regarded by a Manxman as including any particular deprivation; from their birth they are habituated, without effort or design, to live very hardly. Herrings, potatoes, oatmeal, and these in very moderate quantities,

are the general fare equally of the small native farmer and the labourer.

The latter resides contentedly in a cottage of of mud, under a roof of straw, so low that a man of middling stature can hardly stand erect in any part of it; if to the common necessaries above stated the good people add a stock of turf for the fire, and a cow fed in the lanes and hedges, they enjoy the utmost abundance of which they have any idea. A chaff bed for the whole family, a stool and a wooden table, constitute the furniture of the mansion, and here they vegetate in heaps, waiting the recurrence of the herring fishery for the renewal of plenty, and when their stores fall somewhat short of their consumption, they take such calamities with patience as matters of course, which *must* happen, but for which the remedy will come of itself in due season; or may be sought in a case of extremity, by spending a day or two in labour at a neighbouring farm.

When therefore a stranger, viewing this scene with compassion, (because to him it would be a state of extreme misery) satisfies his own feelings by gifts, which the objects of his pity never desired, and scarcely know how to use, ought he to wonder that he excites none of those sentiments of gratitude which the same benefits

would naturally produce in other places, should he be angry that the Manxsman understands as little of this refined feeling as he did of his own wants.

On the other hand, there are traits of hospitality inherent in the character of these peasants which bespeak a natural generosity, and which it is remarkable are preserved in the greatest purity, where their exercise must be attended with the most considerable self-denial. No cotter, however poor, will refuse to his neighbour or acquaintance a share of his herrings and potatoes, small as the portion may be that is provided for his own consumption, and though their miserable bed be crowded by a whole family, they still find a corner for a native traveller, who seeks the shelter of a lowly roof, and these good offices are extended with the most unaffected simplicity, and accepted more as a right than a favour.

The love of litigation is a charge which it is more difficult to meet with a due apology. Yet even on this subject something may be said. In the first place it is almost wholly confined to the lower orders. In the higher circles of the Manx, whether gentry or traders, there is as little disposition to vexations or petty suits, as in the same classes in other countries, where the

access to law is guarded by expence and difficulty; on the other hand, the peasant has been accustomed from infancy to consider the deemster as the guardian of his rights, and an infallible decider of all disagreements, to whom he might apply whenever he felt himself injured or agrieved, and that, not entirely in the character of a judge greatly elevated above himself, who must be approached with awe, and who from want of experience could enter into none of the petty grievances brought to his cognizance: but on the contrary, the Manxman feels that this officer has a close and local knowledge of the character, circumstances, and family history of every client in his little district: and he remembers too, that a very short time perhaps has elapsed since the deemster moved in the same sphere with himself. Each man also, partial to his own cause, and knowing the decisions are to be governed by circumstances as they can be made to appear, has a hope, by telling his own story, of prevailing against his adversary. At all events the expence incurred is trifling, and the disgrace of failure none at all.

This habit of referring the merest trifles to judicial authority, diffuses a knowledge of the laws, or rather of the practice, neither beneficial

nor improving: every native man, woman, and *child*, understands the legal terms, and can dilate upon the history of actions, tokens, charges, and appeals, with technical precision; and the pertinacity with which a common peasant will pursue a cause through all the different courts, is both ridiculous and tormenting. I heard an instance in point from very high authority, which I shall repeat as it was related to me.

"A man had made a charge of five shillings for digging a grave, the customary price being only two shillings and sixpence. The affair was contended in the lowest ecclesiastical court, and in course given against the plaintiff, who thence carried it to the bishop, and being still foiled, has had the obstinacy to appeal to the metropolitan court at York, where this ridiculous cause is still pending. But these contentions are generally amongst themselves, and form but a trifling subject of annoyance to strangers, who, with very little temper and caution, may keep clear of these petty inconveniences, which will never wholly subside until the legislature shall impose a tax upon law proceedings, and thereby render them less accessible to the peasantry, or till the deemsters, being remunerated by govern-

ment at a fixed and competent salary, in lieu of the fees now granted, shall find it for their own ease to discountenance litigation.

The only military force at present in the island, are the volunteers, or local militia: there were formerly two fencible regiments of native troops in the pay of government, but these being reduced at different times, a regiment of veterans took their place, who were however recalled when the war broke out again. It is probable the present system will not continue long, but that either a permanent force will be raised within the island, or some regiment from Great Britain be stationed here, it being absolutely necessary to have some troops for the protection of the prisons, and also to guard the stores, and enforce the authority of the custom-house officers against smugglers. It is a curious fact, that during the long period of war, when it was universally allowed that a single privateer might have ravaged the island, or laid either of the towns in ashes before assistance or protection could be afforded from England, yet no care was taken to organize those means of defence which were easily within the reach of the inhabitants. It is true that at every commanding point, all round the coast there were cannon; but these lay dismounted and useless,

though, at the same time, government was paying a salary to an ordnance-keeper for his *neglect*. But immediately on the conclusion of peace an engineer being sent over, has ever since been actively employed in building batteries, arranging stores of ammunition, and mounting the cannon, as if it had been apprehended that, when all the rest of Europe was restored to tranquillity, the arms of the united potentates would be turned against the Isle of Man alone; at any rate, if this idea is considered as futile, I must leave it to clearer politicians than myself to say, why these measures of precaution were not taken before? or why they have been taken now?

If what I have said has failed to convey a general idea of the society and manners of the people, I know not how I shall make my account more accurate. In fact, except a few national traits, which remain permanently fixed, the features of the whole people have ever been liable to great variation, and are constantly influenced by the different classes who come amongst them; of some of the most striking of these changes, it may be amusing, before we conclude, to take a slight review.

In the earliest times we imagine the court of the kings to have been adorned by knights and

damsels, whom fancy is allowed to paint in all the splendour of chivalry and romance! next we find a race of peasants in mud-walled cottages, decked out on holidays, and at fairs, in their *best blankets*, and leaving us in some doubt what kind of drapery was substituted on less important occasions; sunk in extreme ignorance, dozing amidst foggy mountains, and dreaming of an intercourse with fairies and mermaids, or trembling at the power of witches and demons.

The next great revolution, converted these half stupified beings into a community having a mixed character between traders and robbers, who united the meanest traits of both professions, living by the exercise of fraud, and a sort of bastard courage called forth only by the prospect of gain, and wholly inapplicable to any better purpose: hitherto they had formed little connexion with foreigners, or had been little visited by them; all their varieties had sprung from internal circumstances; but at length a new scene opened, since which the changes have been more rapid, and of shorter continuance.

Luxury, as it advanced in Great Britain, continually drove out those sons and daughters of dissipation, who had sacrificed too largely at her altars, to expiate their vices or their follies in

other climes; and when the revolutionary war broke out, the continent being closed against such incursions, the Isle of Man became the sole retreat left open to them. At first, the animation and spirit which accompanied persons of this cast, threw a charm over their derelictions, and the natives, dazzled by the polished manners and superior acquirements of their visitors, opened their hearts and their houses to them; but this cordiality was short lived. Gold had, at this time, become one of the household gods of the Manx, and it was not possible to preserve this deity inviolate from the attacks of the strangers, hence arose suspicion on one side, and contempt on the other; so that, at last, both parties drew off into separate associations, and all chance of conciliation was at an end. It is now about twelve years since this feud was at its height, and as that was the period of my arrival in the island, I was both astonished and alarmed at the enmity then existing between them. The weekly paper was the instrument of war, and the anger of both sides was vented in repartee and inuendo, in which attacks, it must be owned, the advantage lay with the strangers.

The Manx continually threatened to withdraw the protection afforded to these interlopers, who in their turn warned them, that the island would

be ruined by such a measure: they insisted that all the prosperity of the country originated with them! that it was supported by their money, and might be civilized by their example; in fact, to listen only to one side, any one would have supposed these were a class of missionaries who had made a pilgrimage, with the disinterested view of diffusing light and wealth, whilst the Manx as sturdily denied the benefit, and expressed their wish to be left in mediocrity and ignorance, rather than be annoyed by the airs of superiority assumed over them. It was in the height of this contest that a new clan arrived to divert and occupy the public attention. These were a tribe of duellists, or what Addison would have called "*Mohawks*," chiefly drawn from the green shores of Erin, and no sooner had they landed than peace spread her wings, and for many months was heard of no more. I am not exaggerating when I assert, that every evening closed upon a quarrel, and every morning dawned upon a challenge! explanations! apologies! points of honour! and effusions of valour formed the sole subjects of discourse! No meeting, however peaceably arranged between the most intimate friends, could ever break up without a deadly feud, which nothing but lead and

gunpowder could allay; for a length of time the whole island, [but Douglas in particular,] was in a state of ferment, till the meetings grew so frequent that even terror was worn out, and it began to be observed, that by some lucky chance the heroes still gathered bloodless laurels; so that at last, the heroines left off to faint or to fear, and it became necessary to make somebody weep, that every body might not laugh. At length two gentlemen did meet in *real earnest*, and one fell a victim to Molock; yet such was the apathy with which the scene was regarded, that although at the moment of this melancholy event there were, as usual, a group of the "*Mohawk*" tribe assembled to witness the rencontre yet did they all take to flight in different directions, and left the unhappy man to breathe his last unassisted and unsupported.

This is the first and last fatal duel upon record in the Isle of Man, since that time the mohawks have "*worn their arms with a difference*," and to a certain degree the peace of the community has been restored; the principals fled the island, and the rest of the parties, dividing the reflected glories of this exploit between them, sat down pretty quietly under the shade of their honours; only now and then taking advantage

of the renewed fears of the ladies, to mutter an execration, look fierce, and exhibit their skill at snuffing candles with pistol balls.

But as it is out of nature wholly to repress the effervescence of original fire, the "*Mohawks*" next assumed a new fancy; they clothed themselves in long dark cloaks, encouraged the growth of their whiskers and mustachios, girt their loins with leathern belts, in which they stuck pistols, and a stiletto, and in this terrific array did a band of these worthies parade the streets of the town; yet I must do them the justice to say, I never heard of any essential mischief achieved by them, though one of them planted the lawn before his house with cannon, and certainly killed all the ducks and geese of a neighbouring farmer with grape-shot; but as he liberally paid the damage, it was, perhaps, as well as any other market to which the good dame could have sent her poultry.

Since this epoch there have been few striking alterations in the state of society, till the passing of the new act. At the present time all is peace and good order; the dissipated are nearly extirpated, the riotous effectually restrained, and, if I am not greatly mistaken in my calculations, the period is arrived when all distinctions being done away, the most easy and social inter-

course will henceforth be established between natives and strangers, or rather, considering themselves as subjects of one government, the invidious distinction will be lost altogether in the common and enviable name of Britons.

CHAP. XIX.

Some characteristic Superstitions of the Manx.

THE lower and middle orders of the Manx are, in common with all uncultivated people, greatly addicted to superstition; they have the fullest belief in fairies and witchcraft, and to the supernatural influence of one of these imaginary powers nearly all the good or ill that befalls them is ascribed. As these popular prejudices sometimes throw a considerable light on the character of a nation or people, I shall relate a few of the most prevailing legends, as specimens of the general faith.

Each of the two castles of Rushen and Peel has its appropriate apparition. In Rushen, are

said to be subterraneous apartments, inhabited by genii, and giants, their existence having been ascertained by more than one adventurous hero, whose intrepidity has carried them through the mists and obscurity in which the paths leading to these abodes are enveloped. Besides the secluded inhabitants, there are two spirits of different degrees of importance, the one being the apparition of a woman executed for infanticide; the other, no less a personage than the magnanimous Countess of Derby; who, it is constantly affirmed, takes her nightly round on the walls of the castle, where she has been encountered by a multitude of persons, and at great distances of time; but no one has yet had so much compassion on either of these perturbed spirits, as to ask the cause of their wanderings, without which formulæ, according to the established etiquette of ghostly courtesy, it is impossible they should either reveal their uneasiness, or rest in their graves.

At Peel Castle is a spectre of still greater notoriety, called the Manthé Doog, who, so long as the garrison was maintained, made his nightly visits to the guard-room, in the shape of a large black hound; this alarming visitor had continued the practice for so great a length

of time, that the soldiers grew familiar with his presence, and one at length, inspired by liquor, took the resolution to follow the animal to his retreat, which none had yet ventured to explore. It was in vain his comrades sought to restrain the hardihood of this champion; he actually sat out in pursuit of the mysterious intruder; but on his return, which was somewhat speedier than they had expected, he was deprived of all power to relate his adventures, being both speechless and convulsed, in which condition he remained three days, and then died. This tale is alluded to by Walter Scott, in his poem of Marmion.

"But none of all the astonish'd train
Were so dismay'd as Deloraine,
His blood did freeze, his brain did burn,
'Twas fear'd his mind would ne'er return;
For he was speechless, ghastly, wan!
Like him, of whom the story ran,
Who spake the spectre Hound in Man."

A long story is very gravely related in Sacheverel's account of the island, which I shall repeat in his own words.

"In the year 1690, upon the late king's going to Ireland, a little boy, then scarce eight years old,

frequently told the family in which he lived, of two fine gentlemen who daily conversed with him, gave him victuals, and something out of a bottle of a greenish colour, and sweet taste to drink. This making a noise, the present deemster, a man of *good sense* and probity, went into the mountains to see if he could make any discovery what they were. He found the boy, who told him they were then sitting under a hedge about an hundred yards from him. The deemster bade the boy ask why he could not see them; the boy accordingly went to the place, put off his cap, and made his reverence, and returning, said it was the will of God they should not be seen, but the gentlemen were sorry for his incredulity. The deemster then pulled out a crown-piece, and asked the boy what it was? he answered—he could not tell. He then bade him ask the gentlemen: from whom the child, returning again, told him they said it was silver, and had shown him a great deal of such silver, and some yellow silver besides.

"Another day, a neighboring minister going into the mountains, the boy told him they were then in a barn hard by, exercising the pike. He went to the place pointed out, and saw a pitch-

fork moving about in all the proper postures of exercise; upon which, rushing into the barn, the fork was struck to the roof, but no person to be seen. Another day, the boy came and told Captain Stevenson, that one of them came with his hand bloody, and said he had been in a battle in Ireland. The Captain marked the day, and though they had no news for nearly a month after, yet, when it did come, it agreed exactly with the time Colonel Wolseley had given the Irish a considerable defeat.

"I could give you," adds this author, "an hundred other instances during their stay, which was above a month; but, at last, the king came with his fleet into Ramsay Bay, which, one of them telling the other before the boy, he answered, it was well the king was there in person, for if he had sent never so many generals, his affairs would not prosper—and, speaking to the boy, told him they must go with the king into Ireland; that he might tell the people of the island that there would be a battle fought between Midsummer and St. Columbus day, upon which the future fortune of Ireland would depend, which exactly agreed with the battle of the Boyne; that the war would last ten or twelve years, but that, in the end, King William would be victorious over all his enemies."

Nor is the belief in these supernatural appearances become obsolete. To this moment, every damsel who rambles beyond the precincts of the farm-yard at night, incurs the danger of meeting fairies, and it is seldom they return without a circumstantial history of miraculous adventures. Collins, the poet, calls Man the "fairy-land;" and as to the influence of witchcraft, it is an article of faith standing on much higher ground than the creed.

If a fisherman makes one or two unsuccessful trips, he instantly proceeds to exorcise his boat by burning gorse or straw in the centre, and carrying the flaming material to every crevice where it is supposed the evil spirit may continue to lurk. If a cow is diseased, or any difficulty occurs in churning, the operation of the *evil eye* is immediately suspected, and a strict inquiry is made as to who may have been lately upon the spot, for the power of doing mischief is by no means confined to a few malignant individuals, but seems to be generally ascribed by every one to an adversary, or a rival.

Conversing on this subject with a farmer of good information on general affairs, he expressed the utmost astonishment, not unmixed with terror, at the scepticism with which I listened to some of these supernatural histories, in confirma-

tion of which, he related one story, to the truth of which, he offered to bring unquestionable evidence, if my unbelief should yet maintain its ground. He asserted, that two years before that time, he and a neighbor were in treaty for the sale and purchase of a poney, but, differing about the price, his neighbor, vexed at his disappointment, *put an evil eye* upon the beast, who *instantly*, and without other visible cause, became so lame as to be wholly useless, and so continued for twelve months; when, by extraordinary good luck, another person called on him, who had on his part the power to discern these unrighteous influences where they had been exercised, and to do them away by a counter charm. No sooner had this man cast his eyes on the animal, than he pronounced his lameness to have originated with the malignant purchaser, and after performing certain ceremonies, he assured my informer that the spell was broken, and that within a few hours, the poney would be restored to perfect soundness and strength, all which, in course, happened as foretold.

The witches and fairies of Man are neither supposed to combine, nor to produce exactly the same effects by their power, the former being wholly employed in acts of aggression, whilst the latter have a mixed jurisdiction, and can pro-

duce both good and evil by their operations. They are accustomed to perform certain frolics, which shew some degree of humor and whim in their propensities: they are also easily assailable by bribes: thus the dairy-maid, who would spare herself unusual exertion, regularly makes the offering of a small pat of butter, or a piece of cheese curd, which is affixed to the wall of the dairy, and is believed to propitiate these invisible agents. The livers of fowls and fish are uniformly sacrificed to the fairies. At Midsummer-eve, when their power is of unlimited extent, flowers and herbs are the only barriers to their incursions, and these are regularly spread on the door and window-sill to protect the inhabitants.

But one of the most curious ceremonies, and which, I believe, is peculiar to the Isle of Man, is, that of *hunting the wren*, founded on a tradition, that in former times, a fairy of uncommon beauty exerted such undue influence over the male population, that she at various times seduced numbers to follow her footsteps, till, by degrees, she led them into the sea, where they perished. This barbarous exercise of power had continued for a great length of time, till it was apprehended the island would be exhausted of its defenders, when a knight-errant sprung up, who discovered some means of countervailing the

charms used by this syren, and even laid a plot for her destruction, which she only escaped at the moment of extreme hazard, by taking the form of a *wren;* but though she evaded instant annihilation, a spell was cast upon her, by which she was condemned on every succeeding New Year's Day, to reanimate the same form, with the definitive sentence, that she must ultimately perish by a human hand. In consequence of this *well authenticated* legend, on the specified anniversary, every man and boy in the island (except those who have thrown off the trammels of superstition), devote the hours between sun-rise and sun-set, to the hope of extirpating the fairy, and woe be to the individual birds of this species, who shew themselves on this fatal day to the active enemies of the race: they are pursued, pelted, fired at, and destroyed, without mercy, and their feathers preserved with religious care, it being an article of belief, that every one of the relics gathered in this laudable pursuit, is an effectual preservative from shipwreck for one year; and that fisherman would be considered as extremely foolhardy, who should enter upon his occupation without such a safeguard.

Another tradition preserved by Waldron in his

Account of the Isle of Man, relates, that about fifty years before his residence there, an adventure had been achieved, of which there were living witnesses in his time. It originated in a project, which was conceived by some philosophers, to fish up treasures from the deep, by means of a diving-bell. A venturous hero being enclosed in one of these machines, was let down, and, in his descent, continued to pull for more rope, till all they had on board was completely expended, though such had been their precaution, that they had gone out provided with a length of line which, according to their calculation, was sufficient to descend at least double the number of leagues that the moon is computed to be distant from the earth! At such an extreme depth as this adventurer had explored, great wonders might reasonably be expected, and such he encountered, for when, after awaiting his further signal till their patience was exhausted, his companions wound up the rope, and brought the submarine traveller to the upper regions again. He gave a most splendid account of the scenes he had left.—"After," said he, "I had passed the region of fishes, I descended into a pure element, clear as air, through which, as I floated, I saw the bottom of the watery world,

paved with coral and a shining kind of pebble, which glittered like sun-beams reflected on glass. On looking through the little windows of my prison, I saw streets and squares on every side, ornamented with huge pyramids of crystal, and one building in particular attracted my attention, composed of mother of pearl, embossed with shells of various descriptions, and all colours. Having with infinite difficulty forced my enclosure towards this palace, I got entrance into a very spacious room; the furniture was amber, and the floor inlaid with diamonds, topazes, rubies, and emeralds: I saw also several rings, chains, and castanets, of all manner of precious stones, set after our fashions, which, I suppose, had been the prey of the winds and waves. These were hanging loosely on the jasper walls, and I could easily have made a booty of immense value, if, at the moment when I had edged my machine near enough to reach them, you had not interposed between me and my good fortune, by the precipitancy with which I was drawn back at the moment of success." *

This story, which, at least, proves the poetical talent of the adventurer, may serve the metrical

* See Waldron's Works, page 176.

tale-mongers of the present day, and give a little variety and relief from the tiresome sameness of silver moon-beams and verdant meadows, especially if duly interspersed with the loves of the mermen and maids, who, according to the narrator, inhabit these splendid abodes.

CHAP. XX.

Prices of Provisions—Rent—Servants' Wages, &c.—The Author's Farewell to her Manx Friends.

ALL that remains of my task, is to give that promised scale of prices, which may enable persons interested in the inquiry, to form an estimate of the expenses incident to a residence in the Isle of Man; and having done that, to take leave of my readers in general, and those of this country in particular.

Rent will be found to be the heaviest article of family expenditure. A respectable house of from ten to twelve rooms can scarcely be met with in a good situation, either in Douglas or Castletown, under £30 or £40 per annum. The towns of Ramsay and Peel offer accommodations at a much lower price. Lodgings furnished

are let in proportion; unfurnished, few can be met with.

The best mode of providing moveables is from Liverpool, where they can be purchased cheaper, freight included, than in the island; except at sales, whence many persons collect their furniture on very moderate terms; but these transfers of property are much less frequent than they were, when the resort of strangers was greater.

Wages of female domestics are in proportion to their abilities, from £4 to £7 per annum. Those who neglect to hire at May and November are often greatly inconvenienced, as in the intervals, few good servants can be met with. The natives will always be preferred on expeperience, notwithstanding they are somewhat less intelligent, yet are they much more trustworthy than those from the neighbouring counties, for this obvious reason, that persons of good character in that class will hardly find it necessary to leave their native place in pursuit of *lower wages.* Men servants, to occupy the posts of butler, groom, or even footman, are hardly to be procured: their salaries are in consequence quite undetermined.

Butcher's meat is somewhat above the proportionate rate of other articles, except pork, which is often as low as 3d. a lb. for the rest,

beef, mutton, and veal, average 7d. Wheat is at this time only 3s. the bushel; fine flour 20s. coarse 17s. the cwt. Oatmeal is an article of general consumption, being made into flat cakes as a substitute for wheaten bread, and always used at the servant's table.

Of well fed and full grown fowls or ducks the price is 2s. 6d. the couple; a goose from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a turkey from 3s. to 5s. Fish is abundant and cheap, a good dish may almost always be had for one shilling, sometimes for half the sum. The sorts most abundant, besides herrings, are rock cod, whiting, mackerel, gurnet, haddock, with most kinds of flat fish. None of the shell fish are very plentiful, except crabs. Scollops and lobsters are to be met with in the season; the latter, large and small together, are sold for 9s. the dozen. The oysters on the coast are not good, but a supply sometimes come in from Ireland.

Wines and liquors are articles of luxury to be had on very moderate terms. Port about 28s. the dozen, which is of an excellent quality; the white wines are neither so good or so cheap; and with regard to the former, it is much the best plan to import a pipe. This is usually done by economists, and where the quantity is too much for one family, two or more join together,

and by this means procure a better article considerably under the retailer's price. Rum is 9s. the gallon, brandy 12s. geneva 10s. As a custom prevails of rewarding all small services with a glass, it is the practice with most people to be provided with an inferior sort of rum for this purpose. Ale is sold in barrels at one shilling the gallon; but this price is far beyond the average of malt and hops; and if families were to adopt the practice of brewing for their own consumption, they would find an essential saving.

Coals are from 26s. to 34s. according to quantity or scarcity, per ton. Grocery is regulated by the English price, except tea, which is much lower. A new settler is at first much puzzled by the difference between Manx and English money. In general the prices charged in the shops are calculated on British currency, but the dealings in the market, and with the country people, are carried on usually upon the old terms of 14d. to the shilling. Butter is from 10d. to 1s. the lb. eggs twenty for a shilling on an average of the year.

All that I have now stated refers to a residence in the towns; but persons to whom a strict economy is either desirable or necessary, would in all probability find it combined with more ease and comfort at a short distance in the country,

where very good family houses are easily attainable with ten or twenty acres of land on moderate terms. The wages of a labourer are from 12l. to 14l. per annum with his board; or if he maintains himself, and is a superior workman, 12s. per week in summer, and 10s. in winter. The price of a good cow in full milk, is from 10l. to 14l. according to the size. The quantity of milk averages about four gallons per diem, two of these will supply a moderate family with seven or eight pounds of butter per week, besides the ordinary consumption of milk and cream. If in addition, they can raise their own grain, potatoes, and poultry, the articles to be purchased with money come within a very moderate compass. I know several families of eight or ten persons who have adopted this system, and live in the utmost ease and abundance on 300l. per annum, many of them *keeping a carriage;* by which, however, I mean simply a convenience for moving from place to place, combining neither shew nor state, driven by the laborer in his Sunday clothes, sitting behind the same horses he at other times follows in the plough or the cart: for as there are no taxes on these sort of vehicles, nor even a turnpike to add to the charges, the first cost is the whole consi-

deration; and this may be large or small according to the taste or the ability of the purchaser.

The foregoing estimate, I think, cannot fail to prove the assertion with which I set out, that in point of expense the Isle of Man offers a favorable retreat for persons of middling fortune: for if the advantage and recommendations thus set forth, are not considered as more than a counterbalance to the few defects and inconveniences which I have stated with equal impartiality, it must be, that *I* have failed in my intended description of both; or that an undue weight is given to points which, in fact, though material blemishes in the constitution, are yet far from being generally felt. In writing the history of the island, and particularly of its present state, I should have been justly chargeable with disingenuity if I had disguised or omitted palpable facts; but nothing can be more true, than that numbers have resided for years without feeling the operation of these evils, which are like a latent or an hereditary distemper, neither felt or seen till concurring circumstances awaken and call forth the lurking evil.

For myself, a short time will remove me from the island; yet shall I ever look back to it as a peaceful and happy retreat from the storms of life. To many of the native inhabitants I am

proud to acknowledge my obligations. I have received from them acts of kindness, warm from the heart, and embellished with a liberality and grace that would do honour to the most polished state of society. At this moment I feel strongly impelled to give words to the feelings of gratitude by which I am impressed, and am only restrained by the fear of offending those whom I should "seek to honor." I believe there is an unobtrusiveness in the Manx character, too nearly English, to bear without pain a public expression, even of praise. All then that I can properly offer, are my good wishes; and most earnestly do I hope, that the temporary depression felt here, from a variety of contingent circumstances, will soon subside; that the enlightened state of the population will ere long have its legitimate effect, and restore the island to a higher degree of prosperity than it has ever yet known, without that contamination of morals, or injury to national character, for which mere wealth can never offer an equivalent.

A short space of time, a little correction of defects in the laws, and a hearty co-operation with future settlers, is, I am persuaded, all that is wanted to effect this desirable end. The Isle of Man has within itself the seeds both of ease and plenty; and surely the wisdom to give them

due cultivation, will not be wanting in a people who have in the last few years made such rapid advances in intellectual improvement. Most sincerely do I hope, that if fate will not allow me to witness the result which I anticipate, yet that at any rate I shall have the consolation, in a few, a very few years, to hear that my hopes and my prophesy are fulfilled in their utmost extent.

APPENDIX.

No. 1, or Letter *A*.

Particulars relative to the Execution of James, Earl of Derby.

On Monday, the 13th of October, 1651, my lord procured me liberty to wait upon him, having then been close prisoner for ten days; he told me the night before Mr. Slater, Colonel Duckenfield's chaplain, had been with him from the governor, to persuade his lordship that they were confident his life was in no danger. His lordship told me he patiently heard his discourse, but did not believe him, for, said he, "I was resolved not to be deceived with the vain hopes of this fading world." After we had walked a quarter of an hour, and discoursed on his com-

mands to me, in order to my journey to the Isle of Man, touching his consent to my lady to deliver it up, upon those articles his lordship had signed for that purpose; with his affectionate protestations of his honour and respect for my lady, both for high blood and goodness as a wife, and with much tenderness to his children there, especially my Lady Mary, and was going on, when, on a sudden, came into the room Lieut. Smith, a rude fellow, with his hat on, who told my lord, he came from Colonel Duckenfield, the governor, to tell him he must make ready for his journey to Bolton. He replied, "when will you have me to go?"—"To-morrow morning, by six o'clock," said Smith. "Well," said my lord, "I thank God I am readier to die, than for my journey; however, commend me to the governor, and tell him, by that time I will be ready for both."

Then that impudent rebel Smith said, "Does your lordship know any friend or servant that would do *that thing* that your lordship knows of? it would do well if you had a friend." My lord replied, "what do you mean? would you have me find one to cut off my own head?"—Smith said, "My lord, if you could get a friend?" My lord answered, "Sir, if those men that will have my head, will not find one to cut

it off, let it stand where it is; I thank God my life has not been so bad, that I should be instrumental to deprive myself of it, though he hath been so merciful to me, as to be well resolved against the worst terrors death can put upon me; and for me and my servants, our ways have been to prosecute a war by honorable and just means, and not those barbarous ways of blood, which, to you, is a trade." Then Smith went out, and called me to him, and repeated his discourse and desires to me; I only told him that my lord had given him a final answer on that head. On my coming in again, my lord called for pen and ink, and wrote his last letter to my lady, also to my Lady Mary, and his sons in the Isle of Man.

In the meantime, Mr. Paul Morean, a servant to his lordship, went and brought all the rings he could get, and my lord wrapped them up in several papers, and writ within them, and superscribed them to his children, friends, and servants. The rest of that day (being Monday) he spent with my Lord Strange, Lady Catharine, and Lady Amelia. At night, about six, I came to him again, when the ladies were gone away; and as we were walking, and my lord telling me that he would receive the sacrament the next morning, and on Wednesday morning

both, in came the aforesaid Smith, and said, "My lord, the governor desires you will be ready to go in the morning about seven o'clock. My lord replied, "Lieutenant, pray tell the governor I shall not have occasion to go so early; by nine o'clock will serve my turn, and by that time I will be ready: if he has earlier occasion, he may take his own hour."

That night I staid supper with my lord, who was exceedingly cheerful, and well composed, and drank to Sir Timothy Featherstone (who suffered at Chester a week after in the same cause), and said, "Sir, be of good cheer, I go willing before you; God hath so strengthened me, that you shall hear, by his assistance, that I shall submit both as a Christian and as a soldier, to be both a comfort and an example to you."

Then he often remembered my Lady Mary, and the honorable little masters, and drank to me; and once to all his servants, especially Andrew Browne, and said he hoped now that those who loved him, would not forsake his wife and children, and he doubted not but God would be a master to them, and provide for them after his death. In the morning, his lordship delivered to me the letters for the island, and said,

"Baggerly, deliver these with my most tender affection to my wife and sweet children, who

shall continue with my prayers for them, to the last minute of my life; and I have instructed you in all things respecting your journey. But as to that sad part of it respecting them, I say nothing; but your own silence and looks will best tell the message. The God of heaven direct you, and prosper and comfort them in this day of deep affliction and distress."

His lordship then took leave of Sir Timothy Featherstone much in the same manner as the night before: Mr. Cropen and three other gentlemen, who were condemned, came out of the dungeon, and kissed his hand, and wept at taking leave.

My lord said, "Gentlemen, God bless and keep you, I hope now that my blood will satisfy for all that were with me, for you shall hear I die like a Christian, a man, a soldier, and an obedient subject to the most just and virtuous of princes." After we were out of town about half a mile, my lord meeting his two daughters, Lady Catharine and Amelia, alighted from his horse, and, with a humble behaviour and noble carriage, kneeled down by the boot of the coach, and prayed for them; then rising up, took his leave and departed. This was the deepest scene of sorrow my eyes ever beheld, so much grief,

concern, and tender affection on both sides, I never was witness of before.

That night, Tuesday, the 14th of October, 1651, we came to Leigh, near Warwick, and in our way thither, his lordship called me to him, and bade me, when I arrived at the Isle of Man, to commend him to the archdeacon there, and tell him, he well remembered the several discourses that passed between them concerning death, and the manner of it; that he had often said, the thoughts of death could not trouble him in fight, or when with a sword in his hand; but that he feared it would somewhat startle him tamely to submit to a blow upon the scaffold. "But," said he, "tell the archdeacon from me, that I find within myself an absolute change as to that opinion; and I bless my God for it, who hath put these comforts and courage into my soul, I can, with resignation to his Almighty will, as willingly lay my head down upon a block as ever I did upon a pillow."

My lord at supper made a competent meal, saying he would imitate his Saviour; a supper should be his last meal in this world, as it was his Saviour's before he came to the cross, which, he said, he should do to-morrow.

That night he spent upon his bed from betwixt

ten and eleven until six the next morning. As he laid him down upon his right side, with his hand under his face, he said, "Methinks, I am like a monument in a church, and to-morrow I shall really be so." As soon as he arose, and had said his prayers, he shirted himself, and said, "this shall be my winding-sheet;" then he said to Mr. Paul, "see that it be not taken from me, for I will be buried in it." Then he called for my Lord Strange, to put on his order once this day, "and I will send it to you again by Baggerly, and pray return it to my gracious sovereign when you shall be so happy as to see him, and say I sent it in all humility and gratitude as I received it, spotless, and free from any stain, according to the honorable example of my loyal ancestors."

Then he went to prayer, and my lord commanded Mr. Greehalgh to read the decalogue, and at the end of every commandment made his confession, and received absolution and the sacrament. After which, he called for pen and ink, and wrote his last speech, and a note to Sir Edward Stanley. When we were to go, he drank a cup of beer to my Lady, Lady Mary, little masters, the archdeacon, and all his friends in the island, charging me to remember him to them all. Then he would have walked into the

church to have seen Sir T. F's grave, but was not permitted, neither would they let him ride that day upon his own horse, but they set him on a little galloway, fearing, as they said, the people would rescue him.

As we were going about the middle way to Bolton, the wind came easterly, which my Lord observing, called to me, and said, "Baggerly, there is a great difference between you and me now, for my thoughts are fixed, and I know where I shall rest at night; and so do not you, for every little alteration of wind or weather, moves you of this world, from one point to another. You must leave me, and go to my wife and children in the Isle of Man; but, in the meantime, do not leave me, if possible, but stay to see me buried, as I told you, and acquaint my dear wife and family with our parting."

Between twelve and one of the clock on Wednesday the 15th of October, 1651, the Earl of Derby came to Bolton, escorted by two troops of horse and one company of foot. The people every where praying and weeping as he went, even from the castle of Chester, his prison, to the scaffold at Bolton, were his soul was freed from his body.

His lordship was ordered to stop at a house near the cross at Bolton; and passing it, [illegible]

" this must be my cross:" then alighting, and going into a chamber, with some of his friends and servants, had time allowed him till three o'clock that day; the scaffold not being ready, because the people of the town refused to strike a nail or give any assistance to it. Many of them saying, that since the war began, they had suffered many and great losses, but never so great as this: this was the greatest that ever befell them, that the Earl of Derby, their lord and patriot, should lose his life, and in that barbarous manner.

His lordship, as I told you, having till three o'clock allowed him, spent all that time with his friends that were with him in prayer, and telling them how he had lived and prepared for his death, and how the Lord had strengthened him against the terrors of it. Afterwards he desired them to pray for him again; and after giving some good instruction to his son, the Lord Strange, he desired to be in private, where we left him, and he continued on his knees in prayer some time, then called for us again, and telling us how willing he was to die, how content he was to part with this world, and that the fear of death was no great trouble to him since his imprisonment, though he had always two soldiers, with naked swords, night and day in

his chamber. He had great trouble and concern for his dear wife and children; and what might become of them after his death, was often in his thoughts, and sat heavy upon him; but now he was satisfied that God would be a husband and a father to them, unto whose Almighty Protection he committed them; and taking leave of his son, he called for an officer, and told him he was ready. At his going towards the scaffold, the people cried and prayed. His lordship with a courteous humility said, "Good people, I thank you all; I beseech you, pray for me to the last. The God of Heaven bless you, the Son of God bless you, and God the Holy Ghost fill you with comfort." And coming near the scaffold, he laid his hands upon the ladder, saying, "I am not afraid to go up here, though to my death." Then walking a little upon the scaffold, settled himself at the east end of it, and made his

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

"I am come, and am content to die in this town, where I endeavoured to come the last time I was in Lancashire, as a place where I promised myself to be welcome. In regard to which the people have reason to be satisfied of my love and

affection for them, and that they now understand that I am not a man of blood, as some maliciously and falsely slandered me with; being acquitted of that by many gentlemen of great worth, who were in the fight in this town, and I am confident there are still some in this place, who can witness my mercy and care in saving the lives of many men that day.

"As for my crime, as some call it, to come into this country with the king, I hope it deserves a better name, for I did it in obedience to his Majesty's commands, whom I hold myself obliged to obey, according to the protestation I took in parliament in his father's time. I confess I love monarchy, and I love my master Charles, the second of that name, whom I proclaimed in this country to be king: the Lord bless and preserve him. I do believe and assure you, that he is a virtuous, valiant, and discreet prince, and I wish so much happiness to the good people of the nation after my death, that he may enjoy his right, and then I am well assured they cannot want theirs under him. I confess, in the presence of God, I always sought for peace, and I had no other reason; for I wanted neither estate nor honour; neither did I seek to enlarge either at the expense of others' lives and fortunes, or the invasion of the king's prerogatives.

"My predecessors were, for their loyalty and good services, raised to a high condition of honour and fortune, as is well known in this country; and it is as well known, that I am condemned to die by his Majesty's enemies, by new and unknown laws. The Lord send us our religion again; as for that which is practised now, it hath no name; and I think there is more talk of religion than any practice or good effects thereof. Truly, for me, I die for God, the king, and the laws." At which words a trooper said, "We have no king, and will have no lords;" when some sudden fear fell among the soldiers, and his lordship was interrupted, which some of the officers were troubled at, and his friends much grieved. His lordship seeing their troops scattered in the street, cutting and slashing the people, he said, "Gentlemen, what is the matter? where is the guilt? I fly not, and here is none to pursue you." Then his lordship perceiving that he might not speak freely, turned himself to his servant, and gave him his papers, and commanded him to let the world know what he had to say, had he not been interrupted; which is as followeth, as it was written under his own hand:

"My sentence, upon which I am brought hither, was by a council of war, which council I

had reason to expect would have justified my plea of quarter for life, that being ancient and honourable plea amongst soldiers, and not violated till this time: I am made the first precedent in the case, and I earnestly wish that no others suffer in the like manner. Now I must die, and I thank my God I am ready to die with a good and clear conscience, without malice to any upon any grounds whatsoever, though others would not shew mercy unto me upon just and fair means; but I forgive them, following the example of my Saviour, who prayed for his enemies, and so do I pray for mine. As for my faith and religion, I profess and believe in one only God, and in Jesus Christ his only Son, who died for me and all mankind, and from whom I look for my salvation, that is in and through his only merits and sufferings: and I die a dutiful son of the church of England, as it was established in my late master's reign, and as it is yet professed in the Isle of Man, which is no small comfort to me. And I thank my God for the quiet of my conscience at this time, and for the assurance of those joys which he hath promised, and are prepared for all those that love him. Good people, pray for me; I do for you. The God of Heaven bless you all, and

send you peace and prosperity, that God, who is truth itself, bless you with peace. Amen."

Presently after the uproar was over, his lordship, walking on the scaffold, called for his executioner to come to him; and desired to see the axe, saying, "Come, friend, give it into my hands, I'll neither hurt it, nor it cannot hurt me, for I am not afraid of it;" and kissing it, gave it to him again; then he asked to see the block, which was not quite ready, and turning up his eyes, said, "how long, good Lord, how long?" Then putting his hand into his pocket gave the headsman two pieces of gold, saying, "this is all I have, take it, and do thy work well; and when I am upon the block, and lift up my hands, then do your business, but I fear your great coat will hinder or trouble you, pray put it off."

Some standing by, bid him ask his lordship's forgiveness; but, being either too sullen or too slow, his lordship forgave him before he asked it; and by the other side where his coffin stood, spying one of his chaplains on horseback amongst the troopers, said, "Sir, remember me to your brother and friend; you see I am ready, but the block is not; but when I am got into my chamber, which I shall not be long out of, (pointing

to his coffin), I shall then be at rest, and no longer troubled with such a guard and noise as I have been." Then turning himself again, he saw the block, and asked if all was ready; then going to the place where he began his speech, he said, "Good people, I thank you for your prayers, and your tears, I have the one, and have seen the other." And bowing, turned towards the block, and then looking towards the church, he caused the block to be turned and laid that way, saying, "I will look towards thy sanctuary whilst I am here, and I hope to live in thy heavenly sanctuary for ever hereafter." Then taking his doublet off, asked how he must lie, saying, "I never saw any one's head cut off, but I will try how it fits;" so laying him down, and stretching himself upon the block, he rose again, and caused it to be removed a little, and standing up, and looking at the executioner, said, "be sure you remember what I told you, when I lift up my hands, then do your work." Then looking at his friends about him, said, bowing, "The Lord be with you all, pray for me;" and kneeling down made a short prayer, and bowing himself again, said, "The Lord bless my wife, and children, and the Lord bless us all." And laying his neck upon the block, and his arms stretched out, he said these words loud, "Bless-

ed be God's holy name, for ever and ever—Amen. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory." And then lifting up his hands the executioner did his work, and we hope and doubt not but God hath done his, saved his soul, and taken it into everlasting felicity. After which nothing was heard in the town but sighs, sobs, and prayers. When his body was taken up, and stripped as he had directed, and laid in his coffin, there was thrown into it the following lines, by an unknown hand:

"Wit, bounty, courage, three in one lie dead;
"A Stanley's hand, Vere's heart, and Cecil's head."

The next day his corpse was carried from Bolton to Ormskirk, and there deposited with his renowned ancestors.

APPENDIX.—No. 2.

Rev. Mr. Wilson's Letter to the Earl of Derby.

MY LORD,

NOTHING but a sense of duty and gratitude would have put me upon this liberty; but because I have reason to believe it concerns your lordship, I can willingly hazard all future favors your lordship designs me, rather than be silent in a matter of this moment, though I have no reason to fear any such consequences. I do, therefore, with all imaginable submission, offer these following particulars to your consideration.

First. Though several of the debts be, as your lordship urges, unjust, and, perhaps, most of the bills in part unreasonable, yet is it very probable, that a great many are really just; and if these are not paid, those who suffer have just complaint to God and man, which must certainly have an ill influence on your lordship's affairs.

Secondly. That several in this neighbourhood are undone, if they are not speedily considered;

they are forced to the last necessity, some to sell their estates, others to leave their country, or lie in jail for debts which are owing to them from your lordship. They come day after day with tears and petitions, which nobody takes any notice of; and so your lordship never comes to know what they suffer. Your lordship sees what methods the rest, who are more able, are taking; and you best know what may be the consequence; but however it ends, if their demands are just, they will still have reason to complain of the wrong that is done them.

Your lordship is never suffered to know the influence these things have on your temporal affairs; but I am ready to make it out whenever your lordship shall think it your interest to inquire into this matter, that you constantly pay one third more for what you want than other people do. I know very few care or are concerned at this; but I cannot but see and lament this hardship, which cannot possibly be remedied till your lordship has taken some order with your creditors, and reformed those who have the disposal of your monies.

I am not able to foresee how these things will end, and one cannot tell what they may be forced to attempt. It is too likely that if any disturbance happen in the government, their

wants may make them desperate, and their numbers insolent. I have been lately told, some of them have threatened some such thing. And now, my lord, if I have said any thing unbecoming me, I hope your lordship will pardon me, and think it a fault of indiscretion rather than design. I mean honestly, and that your lordship may think so, I do protest in the presence of God, that I had rather beg all my life than be so far wanting to my duty, as not to have given you these short hints, which your lordship could not possibly have, but from some faithful servant, as I presume to subscribe myself, &c. &c. &c.

THOMAS WILSON.

APPENDIX.—No. 3.

Bishop Wilson's Character of his Wife, extracted from the Prayer composed by him on her Death.

The memory of the just is blessed.—*Prov. x.* 7.

ALMIGHTY GOD, the author of life and death, who dost not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men; I do, in all humility, submit my will entirely to thine, most humbly beseeching thee to accept of my thanks and praise for all the graces and favors vouchsafed to my wife, now in peace; for her great modesty and meekness of spirit; for her remarkable duty to her parents, and love to her relations; for her great love to me and my friends, and for her fidelity to her marriage-vows; for her tender affection for her children, in performing all the offices of a kind and pious mother; for her peculiar care of her family, and the prudence and mildness by

which she governed it; for her unaffected modesty in her own and her children's apparel, and the great humility of her conversation with all sorts of persons; for her great compassion for the poor and miserable, and her cheerful compliance with me in relieving them.

I bless [thy holy name for these, and all other fruits of thy holy spirit; but above all, I most heartily thank the Lord for her piety to Him during her health, and for His mercies to her in the time of sickness; for her hearty repentance, stedfast faith in the promises of the Gospel's unfeigned charity; her humble submission to God's good pleasure, and patient suffering what his hand had laid upon her; for all the spiritual comforts the gracious God did vouchsafe her, the opportunities of receiving the blessed sacrament, the prayers of the faithful, the ministry of absolution, and the assistance of her pious friends at the hour of death.

With these reflections I comfort my soul, stedfastly believing, that none of these graces and favors were lost upon her; but that she departed in the true faith and fear of God; and, therefore I do humbly pray to thee, Oh blessed Jesus, in whose hands are the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burthen of the

flesh, that we may in thy good time meet in joy, and have our perfect consummation in bliss, both in body and soul, in thine eternal kingdom, &c.

See Life of Thomas Wilson, 4to. vol. I. p. 32.

APPENDIX.—No. 4.

Bishop Wilson's Address to his Children.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,

If I do not live to tell you why I have saved no more for you out of my bishopric, let this satisfy you: that the less you have of goods gathered from the church, the better the rest that I leave you will prosper. Church livings were never designed to make families, or to raise portions out of them, but to maintain our families, to keep up our hospitality, to feed the poor, &c. and one day you will be glad that this was my settled opinion; and God grant that I may act accordingly!

Remember, that the daughter of a priest, if taken in a fault, was to be put to death under Moses's law. Lev. xxi. 9.

I never expect, and I thank God I never desire, that you or your children should ever be great; but if ever the providence of God should raise any that proceed from my loins to any degree of worldly wealth or honor, I desire they

will look back to the place and person from whence they came. This will keep them humble and sober minded; but above all, I desire they will never think themselves too good to be servants.

APPENDIX.—No. 5.

Bishop Wilson's Letter to the Keys.

To the Twenty-four Keys, Representatives of the Commons of this Isle.

GENTLEMEN,

AMONG the many indignities put upon us, the Bishop and Vicars General, of late years by the temporal court, that of being fined at the last Tynwald is not the least afflicting. In regard that whatsoever is said to be done at that solemn assembly, (as is the order for fining us,) will by posterity be understood to have been done with the knowledge and approbation of the whole, which consisting of the governor, council, deemsters, and twenty-four keys, we desire to know whether you, the said keys, were made acquainted with, or gave your consent to, the said order, or to our present imprisonment?

And forasmuch as we were that day openly charged with exercising a spiritual tyranny, you who dwell in several parts of this isle, may do us the justice of testifying whether you know or

believe there be any just cause for so heavy, and (as we persuade ourselves) so groundless an imputation.

THOMAS SODOR AND MAN.
WILLIAM WALKER,
JOHN CURGHEY. } Vicars General.

Dated Castle Rushen, July 10, 1722.

The Answer of the Keys.

MY LORD AND REV. GENTLEMEN,

We the Keys of Man, as well to satisfy your lordship, and you the ecclesiastical judges, as to justify ourselves to posterity, do hereby certify and declare, that though we were present at the Tynwald during the whole time of the sitting of the court, and until the same was dismissed as usual, we were neither made acquainted with or gave our consent to the order you mention; neither was any such order there made or concerted; and, therefore, we could not but be much surprized to hear of your being then fined and afterwards imprisoned.

As to the charge of exercising a spiritual tyranny, we do solemnly testify (as we are in duty bound) that there is no cause to us known for so strange an imputation, being verily persuaded,

that you have been so far from assuming to yourselves an undue authority, that the church was never better governed than in your time, nor justice more impartially administered in the ecclesiastical courts of this isle.

J. STEVENSON,	PHIL. MOORE,
ROBT. CURPHEY,	J. WATTLEWORTH, Jun.
WM. CHRISTIAN,	JAS. CHRISTIAN,
SIL. RATCLIFFE,	JOHN CURGHEY,
THOS. CORLET,	JOHN MURRAY,
JAMES BANCKES,	EDMUND CORLET,
THOS. CHRISTIAN,	JOHN CHRISTIAN.

I, Thos. Stevenson, not being present at the Tynwald, agree with my brethren, only in respect of the latter clause,

THOS. STEVENSON.

Mem. Five of our Members were absent at the signing hereof,

Castletown, JOHN STEPHENSON,
July 11, 1722.

See Appendix to the Life of Thomas Wilson, 4to. vol. 1, p. 112.

APPENDIX.—No. 6.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

THE humble petition of Thomas Wilson, D. D. in behalf of his father, the Bishop of Man, and the inhabitants of the island, humbly sheweth,

By the late embargo, and an act of parliament just now passed, the corn and provisions are prohibited from being exported to the Isle of Man from any port of the three kingdoms; by which means your petitioner's father, and the inhabitants of that place, labor under the inexpressible want of provisions, especially bread corn; so that if not speedily relieved, many thousands are in imminent danger of being starved; and what adds to their melancholy circumstances is, that it has pleased God to afflict them with a pestilential flux, owing, in a great measure, to the want of wholesome food.

In this deplorable case they have no other way left, but to apply to his sacred Majesty, the father of his people, that he will be graciously pleased to order a certain quantity of bread corn

from the ports of Liverpool or Whitehaven; they giving security that it shall be landed and expended only for the use of the inhabitants of the Isle of Man. The granting of which will for ever lay the said bishop and the inhabitants under the most lasting sense of gratitude and the sincerest acknowledgments for a favor, to which they are to owe their health and lives.

APPENDIX.—No. 7.

Letter to the King.

MAY IT PLEASE THE KING'S MOST SACRED MAJESTY

To receive the most grateful acknowledgments of the ancient Bishop of Man, for his Majesty's great condescension and late royal favor, to the son of the bishop, whose obscure diocese and remote situation, might justly have forbid him all expectations of so high a nature from a royal hand. May both the father and the son ever act worthy of so distinguishing a favor! and may the King of Kings bless his Majesty with all the graces and virtues which are necessary for his high station and for his eternal happiness, and enable his Majesty to overcome all the difficulties he shall meet with abroad,* and bring him back to his kingdoms here in peace and safety; and finally to an everlasting kingdom

* The King was in Hanover.

hereafter; which has been and shall be the sincere and constant prayer of his Majesty's most grateful, dutiful, and faithful subject and servant,

THOMAS SODOR AND MAN.

Isle of Man, May 3, 1743.

Letter to his Son at the same time.

I am both surprized and pleased with the unexpected favors conferred upon you, both by the King and the Bishop of Salisbury. I hope in God you will answer the great ends of his providence, in raising you such friends, and in putting into your hands such unlooked for talents, in order to improve them to his glory, and to your own salvation. For my own part, I have ever received such favors with fear, lest I should be tempted to dishonor God by his own gifts; and it shall be my daily prayers for you that you may never do so. This was the case with the wisest and greatest of men, whose history and fall was part of this day's service of the church.

Enclosed you have a letter to his Majesty. Perhaps, you may not approve of the style (*his* instead of *your* Majesty,) but I know it to be

more becoming, and will be better accepted by a foreigner, and therefore it shall pass.

I have also written to the Bishop of Salisbury, to whom my most grateful service and thanks. According to my notion of writing to his Majesty, I ought not to have subscribed my name; but I have done it, lest you should have thought otherwise.

APPENDIX.—No. 8.

Heads of a Bill, proposed in Tynwald, for Amendment of the Criminal Law.

Isle of Man to Wit.—WHEREAS, by an Act of Tynwald, promulgated in the year of our Lord 1737, it is enacted, that "No court, judge, or magistrate, within this isle whatsoever, shall have power or authority for the future to impose or inflict any fines or punishment upon any person or persons within the said isle, for or on account of any criminal cause whatsoever, until he, she, or they be first convicted by the verdict or presentment of four, six, or more men, as the case shall require, upon some statute law in force in the said isle." And whereas doubts have been entertained whether such act of Tynwald extends to treasons and felonies at and by the common law of the island, or only to other smaller crimes, offences, and misdemeanors.—We therefore, &c. And be it enacted, &c. &c. That the said act of Tynwald shall not be construed to extend to any treason or felony

which subsists at, by, and under the common law of the island.—And whereas it is expedient that certain treasons, felonies, misdemeanors, crimes, and offences should be described with greater certainty than has hitherto been done by the laws of the island; and that certain other crimes and offences should be enacted and declared to be treasons, felonies, and misdemeanors. —Be it therefore further enacted,

TREASONS.

1. That the felonious and traiterous compassing or imagining the death of our sovereign lord the king, of our lady the queen, or of their eldest son and heir, is, and shall be held to be *High Treason*, and punishable by death.

2. That the felonious and traiterous violation of the king's companion, or king's eldest daughter, unmarried, or the wife of the king's eldest son and heir, is, and shall be held to be *High Treason*, and punishable by death.

3. That the felonious and traiterous levying war against our sovereign lord the king in his realm, is, and shall be held to be *High Treason*, and punishable by death.

4. That the felonious and traiterous adhering to the king's enemies in his realm, the giving

them aid and comfort in the realm, or elsewhere, is, and shall be held to be *High Treason*, and punishable by death.

5. That the felonious and traiterous counterfeiting the king's great seal, or privy seal, or his sign manual, or privy signet, is, and shall be held to be *High Treason*, and punishable by death.

6. That the felonious and traiterous counterfeiting the king's money, or the bringing false money into the said isle, counterfeit to the king's coin, knowing such money to be false, to merchandize, and making payment withal, is, and shall be held to be *High Treason*, and punishable by death.

7. That the felonious and traiterous slaying the king's governor, the king's lieutenant-governor, the members of the council, or any of them, the deemsters, or either of them, the keys, or any of them, being in their places, doing their offices, is, and shall be held to be *High Treason*, and punishable by death. And be it further enacted, &c. That nothing shall be adjudged to be high treason in the said isle, but what is in and by this act enacted, declared, and described to be high treason, and that no person or persons shall be attainted of any of the trea-

sons enacted, declared, and described by this act, except on some open and overt act and deed, charged against him, her, or them.

FELONIES.

8. That the unlawful and felonious killing of another, with malice aforethought, either express or implied, is, and shall be held to be felony and *Murder*, and punishable by death.

9. That the felonious ravishment and carnal knowledge of a woman, against her will is, and shall be held to be felony and *Rape*, and punishable by death.

10. That the felonious ravishment and carnal knowledge of a female child, under the age of ten years, either with or without her consent, is, and shall be held to be felony and *Rape*, and punishable by death.

11. That the felonious and carnal knowledge, against the order of nature, by mankind with mankind, or with brute beast, is, and shall be held to be felony and *Buggery*, and punishable by death.

12. That the felonious breaking and entering into the dwelling-house of another by night, with an intention to commit a felony, any person

or persons being then inhabiting in such house, is, and shall be held to be felony and *burglary*, and punishable by death.

13. That the felonious, wilful, and malicious burning of the house, mill, out-house, office, barn, stable, ship, boat, or vessel, of another, any person or persons being then in any such building, ship, boat, or vessel, other than the perpetrator or perpetrators of such burning; or aiding and assisting therein, is, and shall be held to be felony and *Arson*, and punishable by death.—And that the felonious, wilful, and malicious burning of any stack of corn, stack of hay, stack of straw, stack of furze, stack of turf, stack of ling, stack of fern, stack of wood, or stack of potatoe haulm, of another, any such stacks being adjoining to any house, out-house, office, barn, or stable, in any of which buildings any person or persons shall then be, other than the perpetrator or perpetrators of such burning; or the aiding and assisting therein, is, and shall be held to be felony and *Arson*, and punishable by death.

14. That the felonious and forcible stealing, taking, and carrying away from the person of another, of goods or money, of any value, by violence, or putting such person in fear, is, and

shall be held to be felony and *Robbery*, and punishable by death.

15. That the felonious *returning from transportation*, or the being seen at large within the said isle, without lawful cause, before the expiration of the term for which the offender was ordered to be transported, or had agreed to transport himself, or herself, is, and shall be held to be felony, and punishable by death.

16. That the felonious and false making, *forging*, counterfeiting, or altering, or causing, or procuring to be falsely made, forged, counterfeited, or altered, or the willingly acting or assisting in the false making, forging, counterfeiting, or altering any act of Tynwald, or any decree, judgment, or execution, or any record or process of any of the courts of the said isle, or any verdict of any jury, or deposition of any witness, duly taksn and signed by or before any court, magistrate, or jury, within the said isle, or any deed, charter, writing sealed, court roll, will, writing testamentary, bond, writing obligatory, memorial of the inrolment or registration of any deed or will, bill of exchange, promissory note for the payment of money, acquittance, receipt, either for money or goods, release or discharge of any debt, account, action, suit,

or demand, the number of any principal sum of any accountable receipt for any note, bill, or other security, for the payment of money, or any warrant or order for payment of money, or delivery of goods, with the intention to defraud any person or corporation whatsoever, is, and shall be held to be *forgery* and felony, and punishable by death, or transportation for life, at the discretion of the court of general gaol delivery, according to the malignity of the offence.

17. That the felonious *uttering, or publishing as true, any false,* forged, counterfeited, or altered act of Tynwald, or any decree, judgment, or execution, or any record or process of any of the courts, or any verdict of any jury, or deposition of any witness, duly taken and signed by or before any court, magistrate, or jury, within the said isle, or any deed, charter, writing sealed, court roll, will, writing testamentary, bond, writing obligatory, memorial of the inrolment or registration of any deed or will, bill of exchange, promissory note for the payment of money, indorsement, assignment, or acceptance of any bill of exchange, or promissory note for the payment of money, acquittance or receipt, either for money or goods, release or discharge for any debt, account, action, suit or other demand, the

number of any principal sum of any accountable receipt for any note, bill, or other security for the payment of money, or any warrant or order for the payment of money or delivery of goods, with the intention to defraud any person or corporation whatsoever, knowing the same to be false, forged, counterfeited, or altered, is, and shall be held to be felony, and punishable by death or transportation for life.—And be it enacted, that an act of Tynwald, passed in the year of our Lord 1797, *intituled*, "An Act for the punishment of Forgery, &c." shall, as to all offences which shall be committed after the promulgation of this act, be and stand repealed.

18. That the felonious and unlawful stealing, taking, and carrying away of the personal goods of another, of the value of ten shillings, or more, is, and shall be held to be *grand larceny*, and punishable by death, or transportation for life, at the discretion of the court.—Provided, nevertheless, that the felonious and unlawful *stealing, taking, and carrying away of one or more sheep*, or of any lamb, goat, or kid, of whatsoever value the same respectively may be, is, and shall be held to be grand larceny, and punishable by transportation for life.

19. That the felonious *receiving of stolen goods, of the value of ten shillings* or more, know-

ing them to be stolen, is, and shall be held to be felony, and punishable by death, or transportation for life, at the court's discretion.

20. That the felonious, wilful, and *malicious burning* of the house, mill, out-house, office, barn, stable, ship, boat or vessel of another, or others, no person or persons being then therein, other than the perpetrator or perpetrators of such burning; or aiding and assisting therein. And that the felonious, wilful, and malicious burning of the stack of corn, stack of hay, stack of straw, stack of furze, stack of turf, stack of fern, stack of potatoe haulm, or stack of wood, of another, none of such stacks being adjoining to any house, out-house, office, barn, or stable, in any of which buildings any person or persons shall then be, other than the perpetrator or perpetrators of such burning; or aiding and assisting therein, are, and shall be repectively held to be felony and *Arson*, and punishable by transportation for life.

21. That the felonious, wilful, and *malicious shooting* at any person, with intent to slay or wound such person, where death does not ensue, &c. is and shall be held to be felony, and punishable by transportation for life.

22. That the felonious violent and *malicious wounding*, disabling, mutilating, and disfiguring

of another, is, and shall be held to be felony and *Mayhern*, and punishable by transportation for seven or fourteen years, at the discretion of the court.

MISDEMEANORS.

23. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the making a *wilful, corrupt, and false oath*, in any matter or cause, legally depending in any suit or variance, by any warrant, citation, process, writ, action, bill, libel, complaint, petition, information, or indictment, in any of the courts within the said isle, or before any magistrate, jury, person or persons, duly authorised by the laws of the said isle, to administer such oath, is, and shall be held to be wilful and corrupt *perjury*, and a high misdemeanor, and punishable by fine, and imprisonment, and the loss of an ear, to be taken off at the public market-place.

24. That the unlawful and corruptly *causing or procuring* any person to commit wilful and corrupt perjury as aforesaid, is, and shall be held to be *subornation of perjury*, and punishable by fine, and imprisonment, and the loss of an ear.

25. That the falsely and designedly obtaining any monies, goods, wares, or merchandises from any person or persons, by means of any false

token, counterfeit letter, or by any other false pretence or pretences whatsoever, with the intention to cheat or defraud any person or persons, is, and shall be held to be *cheating and swindling*, and a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment.

26. That the knowingly *sending or delivering any letter or letters*, with or without a name or names subscribed thereto, or signed by a fictitious name or names, letter or letters, threatening to accuse any person or persons of any crime, punishable by the laws of the said isle, with intent to extort or gain money, goods, wares, or merchandises, is, and shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment.

27. That the unlawful stealing, taking, and carrying away of the personal goods of another, under the value of ten shillings, is, and shall be held to be *Petty Larceny*, and a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment.

28. That the doing of *wilful and malicious mischief* and damage to any of the buildings, lands, trees, shrubs, mounds, dikes, fences, ships, boats, horses, sheep, cattle, or to any other goods and chattels of another, shall be proceeded against in the manner prescribed in and by an act of

Tynwald, passed in the year 1753, intituled "An Act for the better preventing Petty Larceny and Trespass," and shall be punishable as a misdemeanor by fine and imprisonment, besides compensation to the party aggrieved, in the manner prescribed by the said act.

29. That the unlawful killing of another, without malice either express or implied, is, and shall be held to be *Manslaughter*, and a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisoment, and corporal punishment. Provided that, in all trials for murder, if the jury shall be of opinion, and find that the party accused has been guilty of manslaughter only, the said jury shall, by their verdict, find him or her guilty of manslaughter, and that, in all trials for manslaughter, if the jury shall be of opinion, and find that the party accused has been guilty of murder, the said jury shall, by their verdict, indict him or her as for murder.

30. That if any woman shall *conceal her being with Child*, during the whole period of her pregnancy, and shall not call for aid, and make use of help and assistance in the birth, and the said child shall be found dead or amissing, such mother shall be held to be guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment; provided, nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall

extend, or be construed to extend, to discharge the mother of any such child from trial and punishment for murder, in case it shall appear that such child shall have been murdered by such mother, or by her procurement.

31. That the malicious striking and making *Affray in any of the Courts of Justice of the Island*, or the using threatening and reproachful words to the judge or court, the judge or court being then sitting, is, and shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

32. That the wilfully *obstructing the execution of lawful Process;* that the *breaking Prison* by a person lawfully imprisoned; that the *forcible rescuing*, or attempting to rescue a person who shall be lawfully imprisoned; that *the escaping*, or attempting to escape, by a person lawfully arrested; that the voluntarily permitting, or negligently *suffering, a person to escape*, who shall be lawfully arrested or confined, are, and shall be severally held to be misdemeanors, punishable by fine and imprisonment.—Provided always, and be it further enacted and declared, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to affect, abridge, or alter, the power of courts of justice and magistrates to punish contempts as formerly accustomed; and

that the house of keys, the clerk of the rolls, and the registers of the ecclesiastical courts, when in the execution of their respective offices, have, and shall have, the power of punishing contempts in like manner as any court or magistrate within the said Isle.

33. That the *receiving of stolen goods*, under the value of ten shillings, is, and shall be held to be, a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment.

34. That the *compounding any treason, felony*, or misdemeanor, or the taking money or goods from a person accused of any crime, to forbear to proscute, is, and shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment, and corporal punishment.—And that so much, or such part of an act of Tynwald, promulgated in the year of our Lord 1737, as regards the compounding or agreeing not to proceed in any criminal prosecution shall, as to all offences to be committed after the promulgation of this act, be and stand repealed.

35. That the *bribing*, or attempting to bribe, any magistrate or person connected in the administration of justice, to do any thing contrary to the duties of his office; or for any magistrate or person concerned in the administration of justice, to accept, or offer to accept, a bribe, to do

any thing contrary to the duties of his office, is, and shall be held to be a high misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment, and disqualification to serve his Majesty in any place of public trust.

36. That the *attempting to influence a jury*, or any of the jurors, corruptly by promises, persuasions, intreaties, money, entertainment, or the like; or for the jury or any of the jurors to be so corruptly influenced, is, and shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

37. That the *stirring up suits* and quarrels between his Majesty's subjects, either by law or otherwise, is, and shall be held to be a misdemeanor and barratry, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

38. That the *assembling of three persons or more* together, with an intent mutually to assist one another against any who shall oppose them in the execution of some enterprise of a private nature, with force and violence against the peace, or to the manifest terror of the people, whether the act intended were of itself lawful or not, such assembling is, and shall be held to be, an *unlawful assembly*, and the persons concerned shall be punishable as for a misdemeanor, by fine and imprisonment.—And if three persons or more shall

violently, riotously, and in a tumultuous manner, against the public peace, and to the manifest terror of the people, do any act, whether lawful or unlawful, such persons are, and shall be held to be guilty of a riot, and shall be punishable as for a misdemeanor, by fine and imprisonment.

39. That the *violently entering* into the possession of lands or tenements in the occupation of another, with menaces and force, without authority of law, is, and shall be held to be a *forcible entry* and misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

40. That the unlawful keeping possession of lands or tenements, by menaces and force, is, and shall be held to be a *forcible detainer*, and a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

41. That the *spreading false news*, knowing the same to be false, with intention to produce discord, and tumults, and strife, between his Majesty's subjects, shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

42. That the *challenging another*, by word or letter, to fight with deadly weapons, either expressed or implied, or knowingly to be the bearer of such challenge, shall be held to be a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

43. That the *assaulting another, with an intent to commit murder*, rape, or robbery, or any other capital crime, is, and shall be held to be felony, and punishable by transportation for life, or for any term of years, not less than fourteen, at the discretion of the court.—Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to do away or alter the mode of proceeding in a summary way, without a jury in cases of common battery or passionate and provoking words, as heretofore accustomed.—Provided also, and be it enacted, that the fines imposed by an Ordinance made in the year of our Lord 1661, for batteries and passionate words, provoking the same, and recognised by an act of Tynwald, promulgated in the year of our Lord 1737, be respectively altered and increased in manner following; that is to say, that the fine upon each offender in cases of common battery, shall be any sum not exceeding forty shillings, nor less than ten shillings; and that the fine upon each offender in cases of provoking language, shall be any sum not exceeding fifty shillings, nor less than thirteen shillings and four-pence, according to the degree and nature of the offence, as the court or magistrate shall think proper to affix, order, and award the same.—And that the committing a common assault, without a blow being

struck or battery actually committed, shall be tried and punished in like manner as a common battery, as before mentioned.

44. That the having two wives or two husbands at the same time, shall be held to be *bigamy* and a misdemeanor, and punishable by fine and imprisonment, unless one of the parties has been continually abroad for seven years, or unless one of the parties has been absent within the island for seven years, and the remaining party has no knowledge of the other's being alive within that time, or unless there has been a legal divorce between the parties.

45. That the *malicious defaming* or injuring another, by publishing any libellous printing, writing, sign, or picture, concerning him or her, in order to provoke him or her to wrath, or to expose him or her to public hatred, contempt, or ridicule; or the scandalous publishing of any obscene, indecent, or immoral picture, printing, or writing, are, and shall be severally held to be misdemeanors, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

46. That *all unlawful, indecent, and scandalous actings* and doings, not herein before specified, to the disturbance of the public peace, and against good order and good morals, of notorious evil example, are, and shall be held to be

misdemeanors, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

PUNISHMENT.

And be it further enacted, &c. That all and every person or persons who shall be lawfully convicted of any of the treasons, felonies, misdemeanors, and offences herein, before particularly described, enacted, and declared, shall be liable to, and shall suffer such capital punishment, transportation, corporal punishment, imprisonment, and fine, as to each respective treason, felony, misdemeanor, and offence, is herein before severally appointed, specified, declared, and annexed.—Provided always, that in cases of felony, no imprisonment shall be for a longer period than nor less than save and except in such cases as are herein and hereby otherwise declared and enacted; and that in cases of misdemeanor, no imprisonment shall be for a longer period than two years, nor less than three months, and no fine to a greater amount than five hundred pounds.

TRIAL FOR TREASON AND FELONY.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all the said treasons and felonies

shall be tried in the Court of General Gaol Delivery, upon the prosecution of his Majesty's attorney-general of the said isle, for the time being, for, and in the name and behalf of the King, and upon indictments previously found in the accustomed manner of finding indictments in cases of treason and felony, by the law of the said isle.

TRIAL FOR MISDEMEANORS.

And that the said misdemeanors shall be tried either upon information preferred by the attorney-general, in the name and on the behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, or by petition, at the instance of a private prosecutor or prosecutors, in the presence of the deemsters, or one of them, by and before a jury of six good and lawful men of the sheading, wherein the party or parties accused, or some, or one of them, do or shall reside, or of such other sheading as may be ordered, on good cause shewn, which jury shall be impannelled, by order or warrant of a deemster, and shall consist of an equal number of men from and out of each and every parish within such sheading; and that it shall be lawful for a deemster, on complaint lodged, by information or petition as aforesaid, and affidavit made to the truth thereof, to issue his order or warrant for

apprehending and imprisoning any person or persons, charged with having committed any of the said misdemeanors, until he, she, or they, give in good and sufficient security, at the discretion of such deemster, to appear and stand trial for such misdemeanor, when thereunto lawfully required.

And be it further enacted, that prosecutions for such misdemeanors shall be commenced, and effectually prosecuted within two months from the time of the apprehending and imprisoning of any person or persons charged with having committed any of the said misdemeanors, and not afterwards, unless good cause be shewn to the said deemster why the same should be postponed.—And that, whenever, and as often as any person or persons so charged as aforesaid, shall have been so apprehended and imprisoned, such person or persons shall have it in his, her, or their power to apply for, and bring on his, her, or their trial, and shall also be intitled to, and obtain, such time for making his, her, or their defence as the deemster, on application made, shall think reasonable.—Provided always, that in all prosecutions for grand larceny, if the jury by whom the same shall be tried, shall be of opinion, and find that the goods stolen are

under the value of ten shillings, such jury shall proceed and find a verdict as for petty larceny.

And that, in all prosecutions for petty larceny, if the jury by whom the same shall be tried, shall be of opinion, and find that the goods stolen are of the value of ten shillings, or more, such jury shall proceed, and, by their verdict, indict the offender or offenders of grand larceny.—And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the several provisions and enactments, respecting grand larceny and petty larceny, contained and enacted in and by an act of Tynwald, passed in the year of our Lord 1629, and also in and by an act of Tynwald, passed in the year of our Lord 1753, shall, as to all offences which shall be committed after the promulgation of this act be, and the same are hereby severally repealed.

FINIS.

BARNARD AND FARLEY,
Skinner-Street, London.

(Chester)

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